MODERN HISTORY

CHESTER·W·NEW

REGINALD·G·TROTTER

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MODERN HISTORY

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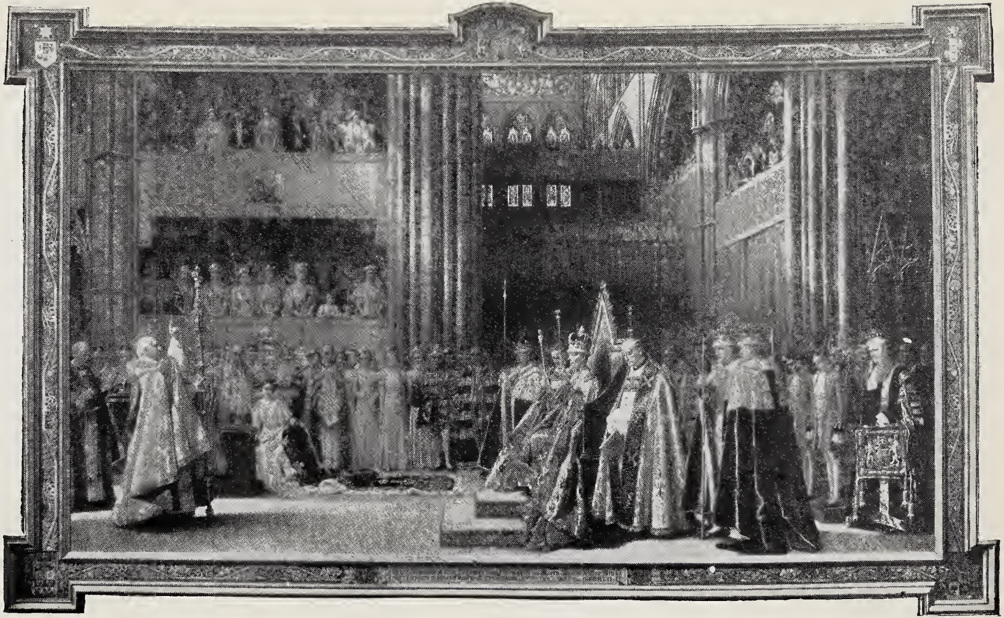

Painted by Frank O. Salisbury, C.V.O., LL.D., R.P.S., R.I., 1937.

THE CORONATION OF KING GEORGE VI AND QUEEN ELIZABETH IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

The pageantry of this coronation symbolizes two outstanding facts in the modern world, the continuity of growth which links the liberty of the British constitution with its ancient origins, and the community of tradition and life which links in partnership today the peoples and nations that make up the British Commonwealth and Empire. The governments of the Dominions shared with that of Great Britain in revising the ceremony for this occasion, that it might fully reflect their equal partnership under their common Crown. The painting was presented to His Majesty the King "as a token of loyalty and affection by Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa."

MODERN HISTORY

BY

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AND

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PREFACE

THE first part of this book (to the end of Chapter XVIII), dealing with the Modern World from 1500 to 1850, was written by Chester W. New; the latter part (from Chapter XIX), dealing with the World since 1850, was written by Reginald G. Trotter. The author of PART I wishes to acknowledge the kindness of the late Dr. W. S. W. McLay in reading the whole of the proof from a literary point of view, and the generous assistance afforded by the staffs of the Toronto Public Libraries and the Hamilton Public Library in the preparation of the historical fiction section of the reading list. The author of PART II wishes to acknowledge the help of Dr. Anna Wright, a colleague at Queen's University, in assembling and organizing material for several chapters, and of Miss Wright and Mr. Vernon S. Ready, of Kingston Collegiate and Vocational Institute, in their critical reading of much of the manuscript. For helpful suggestions concerning the reading list he is also indebted to members of the staffs of the Toronto Public Libraries and the Douglas Library, Queen's University. The maps were prepared by Professor P. H. Brieger of the Department of Fine Arts, University of Toronto.

CHESTER W. NEW
REGINALD G. TROTTER

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PART I

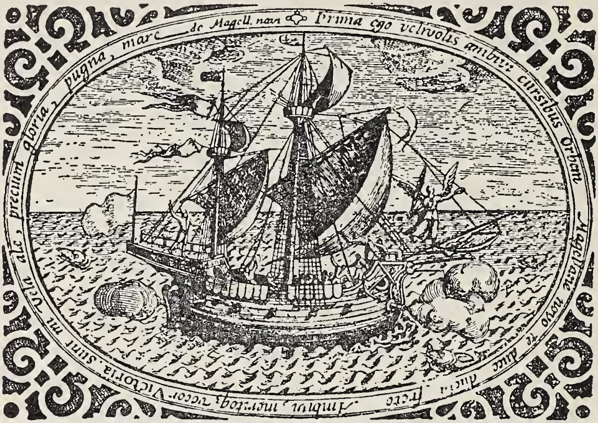
MODERN HISTORY, 1500-1850

CHAPTER I

The Western World in the Early Sixteenth Century

The Meaning of the Year 1500. What was the situation in the western world in the year 1500? The framework of the modern national state had been established. In the westernmost states of Europe, England and France and Spain, the monarchs had built up strong governments with efficient administrations, and, allied with the towns, they had pushed back the forces of feudalism. The decline of the manor and its economy had been going on for some time, and in England particularly, serfdom was disappearing and personal freedom was being achieved by the peasants. The Papacy and the Empire, whose struggles for power had electrified the mediaeval world, had both declined. The Papacy had lost ground in prestige and respect, and in authority over secular matters, but the spiritual unity of the Church under the headship of the Pope was still maintained. The Holy Roman Empire had ceased to play its mediaeval role, but the retention of the title of Emperor by the head of the Hapsburg family was useful in extending his territorial possessions. While England, France and Spain had strong unified governments, Germany and Italy were each divided into a large number of separate states.

The characteristics of the period of the Renaissance had increased in force—individualism, worldliness, the progressive outlook, an aggressively commercial attitude, the critical approach; an intense interest in the study of human nature and enthusiasm for classical studies among the scholars; and love of magnificence and display among the wealthy. The expression of these characteristics in literature and in art had reached their height in 1500. A rising demand for books had resulted in the invention of printing. The mediaeval monopoly of scholarship and writing by the clergy had disappeared. Vasco da Gama had opened up a sea road to India around the Cape of Good Hope and Columbus had discovered America. The Atlantic was about to replace the Mediterranean as the centre of civilization, trade rivalries and struggles for power.


de Magell. nau
Prima ego velivolis ambivi cursibus orbem Magellane novo te duce ducta freto
Ambivi, meritoq; vocor Victoria, sunt mi vela alae, precium gloria, pugna, mare

Morris & Wood: The English-Speaking Nations (Clarendon Press)
FIRST SHIP AROUND THE WORLD (MAGELLAN'S *VICTORIA*)

Spain and the New World in the West. Magellan. Men living at the time seldom see events as history sees them. For us the first voyage of Columbus appears to be one of the most important events in history. But to the Spaniards of his day, once the first excited hopes of his having reached eastern Asia, the land of costly spices, had been dispelled, it was a fiasco. Columbus, in sailing west, had failed, and Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese, in sailing east, had succeeded. But the Spaniards did not abandon the westward quest. In 1519 Ferdinand Magellan headed an expedition which sailed around the southern end of America, crossed the vast expanse of the Pacific, reached the Ladrones Islands off the coast of Asia and then the Philippines, where Magellan was killed in a fight with the natives. His companions continued to sail west and rounded the Cape of Good Hope; one ship of the five which had started put into a Spanish port after a voyage of three years with eighteen survivors, the first men who had ever travelled around the world. Glorious as that achievement was, it was as disappointing as that of Columbus, because it proved how large the world was and how very far away was the land of spices if one sailed west to find it. Yet the hope persisted that a shorter route might be found around or through the northern part of America. Many sought for it. The Frenchman Jacques Cartier, a few years after Magellan's voyage, believed he had found it when he discovered the St. Lawrence. And that quest for "the north-west passage" was to lure men on in the exploration of what was not a shallow continent, but a "new world".

Cortes. In the meantime adventurers from Spain were discovering treasure in that new world. In the general excitement a Spanish law-student named Cortes found the study of law too tame, set off for America, and after some administrative experience in Cuba, was commissioned to conquer the recently discovered Mexico, with six hundred soldiers and a few pieces of crude artillery. The natives of Mexico took these first white men for the descendants of their sun god. Cortes, who allied himself with disaffected tribes against the ruler of the country, mingled good treatment, when he believed it paid, with burying men alive, when he was resisted. In Mexican treasure houses he found stores of gold and silver such as no white man had ever seen before, the first of the hoards of precious metal that were to be sent across the sea to Spain. After completing the conquest of Mexico, he went on to bring Guatemala and Honduras under Spanish rule and explored a large part of California, preparing the way for its conquest. After his return to Spain, he was embittered by neglect. One day in later years when his ruler, the Emperor Charles V, was appearing before a great crowd of people, Cortes made his way to the Emperor's carriage and mounted the step. "Who are you?" asked the astonished Emperor. "I am the man", replied Cortes, "who has given you more possessions than your ancestors left you cities".

Pizarro. When Cortes was conquering Mexico, Pizarro, an obscure Spanish adventurer in Panama, heard of gold and silver in Peru. He got hold of a ship and a hundred men, and started for Peru. When his companions became discouraged by hardships and wished to return to Panama, he drew a line in the sand and said, "On that side are toil, hunger, nakedness, the drenching storm . . . on this side ease and pleasure. There lies Peru and its riches; here Panama with its poverty. For my part I go to the south." Pizarro and sixteen others stepped across the line. They explored Peru and saw sights that exceeded their wildest dreams. In places there were figures of men and animals of solid gold, and tables of solid silver; in one place there was seen later a heap of eighty thousand pounds of gold. Pizarro returned to Spain, organized an expedition, and returned to conquer Peru in a campaign of almost unexampled cruelty and treachery, culminating in the burning to death of the ruler of the country. And again, from a richer source, gold and silver were on their way to Spain. The working of new gold and silver mines in Mexico, Peru and Bolivia followed, and in the meantime colonies were established in South and Central America and as far north as Florida and California.

Effect of Gold and Silver from America. Great treasure-ships carried the gold and silver to Spain, but pirates swarmed the seas to plunder them. About the middle of the century a convoy system was established and a fleet of merchant-ships sailed twice a year from Spain with provisions for the colonies and twice a year from America with treasure, convoyed by what, for that time, was a powerful navy. The supply of gold and silver in Europe, which had been small before, was now doubled. At a time when the actual use of money entered more largely into business transactions, this influx of the money metals was like new blood for the life stream of European trade, which took on bolder ventures and operations on a larger scale.

Since the gold and silver went immediately to Spain, that country was enriched and enabled to play a large part in world affairs. But since a greater supply of gold and silver made them cheaper in relation to goods, goods became dearer in relation to gold and silver, that is, prices went up rapidly. That occurred first in Spain. Goods from other countries came to Spain in search of the higher prices. The Spanish government failed to protect Spanish industries in their home market. So the gold and silver left Spain for other parts of Europe. Much of the new treasure was also expended on Spain's costly wars in this period. But it took some time for these results to become manifest. In the heyday of her new-found wealth Spain was so proud that she took on too large a political programme, as we shall see in later chapters. She did not have the natural resources and the manufacturing strength in Spain itself to maintain a vast empire in Europe and America. Spain, with her limited agriculture, and with mountain ranges blocking communication, was a poor country. She overplayed her strength. Ultimately the gold and silver went through Spain like a sieve and enriched other countries. When the stream slowed up in the seventeenth century, the ruin of Spain as a great power in world affairs was completed.

Religion as well as Trade. Spain's conquerors and traders in the new world showed little scruple or mercy in their treatment of the natives or the negro slaves from Africa who were later brought in as labourers. But Spanish missionaries, adventurers of the Cross, were as eager to evangelize as were the traders to make money. They played a large part in the spread of European civilization to America and everywhere they sought to protect natives and later negro slaves from the greed of commerce. From a Christian point of view, perhaps the greatest of Spain's heroes in the new world was Las Casas, a Dominican who, in the face of successive disappointments, fought vigorously for better treatment of the Indians.

Portugal and Trade with the East. Vasco da Gama's voyage was followed up immediately by the Portuguese who established trading posts all the way from the Persian Gulf to Japan. The unbroken sea voyage to Lisbon meant very much cheaper transportation of Eastern goods than the old sea-and-land routes with their many reloadings and payments of duty; and a large ship carried so much more than a pack-horse or a wagon. The earlier imports from Asia had been goods of small bulk and weight, such as spices, silks and precious stones. Now cotton, calico, carpets, and brass-ware were brought from the East in large quantities. More fragile articles like porcelain and china (from China) that could not stand the jolting of the long land routes could now be brought to Europe by the Portuguese all-sea route. Coffee and tea also came to Europe first at this time along with the expanding trade. People waxed very enthusiastic about the new tea. All sorts of wonderful claims were made for it. As well as curing headaches, it was said that it "conquered bad dreams, strengthened the memory . . . and prevented tuberculosis". But tea was too expensive for the poor to drink until the eighteenth century.

Portugal, like Spain, did not hold its advantage for very long. It was too small a country to monopolize the Eastern trade; the Portuguese took the short way of harsh treatment of natives and shady transactions, and were in the course of time largely displaced in the East by the Dutch, the French, and the English.

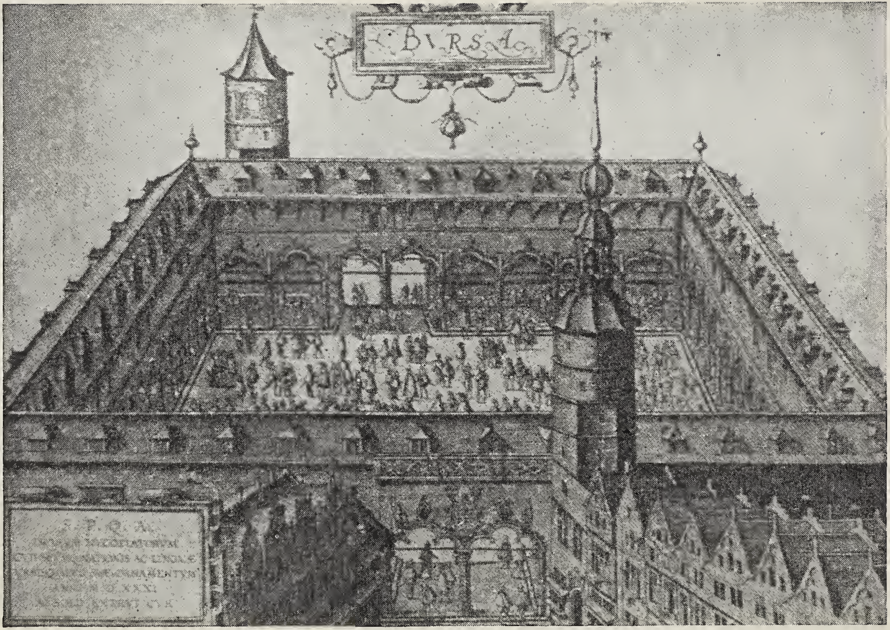
Changes in Trade Routes. The development by the Portuguese of the sea route to the East brought about a revolutionary change in the trade routes. The old routes to the eastern Mediterranean and thence to the Italian ports, across the Alps and then to various parts of Western Europe, were side-tracked. Eastern goods now came by sea to Lisbon, where they were reshipped to the ports of the Netherlands and thence distributed to the interior of Europe. Cities on the old trade routes declined and Antwerp, the greatest of the distributing centres of the new trade, became the most important commercial city in Europe, displacing Venice. In 1504, only six years after Vasco da Gama had first reached Calcutta, no pepper at all was carried to Europe by the Mediterranean ports; it had all gone around the Cape of Good Hope to Portugal and thence most of it to the ports of the Netherlands. In the previous year thirteen hundred tons of pepper were landed at Lisbon. The Dutch soon controlled the carrying trade from Lisbon to Antwerp. The poverty of Portugal, its distance by land from great commercial centres, and the physical features which prevented easy land transportation to the heart of Europe, prevented Lisbon's becoming a distributing centre, while Antwerp was close to flourishing cities and near the mouth of the Rhine, the greatest artery of European trade.

Nationalizing of Trade. New Business Methods. Expanding Capitalism. By this time the nation states were assuming control of economic as well as of political life. Instead of each city being an economic unit, the state became the economic unit, international trade displacing inter-city trade. At the same time the states were undertaking the establishment of uniform weights and measures and the building of better roads, as well as that improvement of law and order which was good for trade. The old local regulations of the guilds were breaking down. The mediaeval guilds had placed all sorts of restrictions upon "foreign merchants" which meant merchants from another city; now a "foreign merchant" was a man from another country. The guilds had limited a man to one trade, but as the opportunities of commerce enlarged and world-markets were added to local markets, the individual trader desired to be free to seize his opportunity in as many kinds of trade as he could. Guild rules had sought to prevent any member taking an advantage of others, and had consequently discouraged improvements in methods of trade; increased opportunity and individual ambition were now breaking through such restraints.

These conditions had been developing before the sixteenth century, but they were stimulated by the excited search for new wealth caused by the great voyages of discovery, the resultant expansion of trade, the greater amount of available capital, and the change in the trade routes. Individuals and families had been breaking through the old restrictions and operating freely on a large scale in the fifteenth century. One French capitalist had three hundred commercial agents in the eastern Mediterranean ports. But the best illustration is afforded by the Fugger family of Augsburg. Beginning with the manufacture of cloth, they became interested in the spice and silk trades, doing business through Venice. Then they invested money in silver mines in the Tyrol and copper mines in Hungary. They maintained a banking business with branches in various parts of Europe and negotiated very large loans. By the time the new world in the west was discovered, they had accumulated a vast amount of capital which they loaned and invested in relation to American trade, and developed mining operations in Peru. It has been estimated that in the early years of the sixteenth century they were earning over fifty-five per cent. on their investments.

Another development of the early sixteenth century was that of extensive partnerships. Earlier partnerships had been for one voyage, or family partnerships like that of the Fuggers. In the sixteenth century a new modern institution came into being, the joint-stock company. A number of business men each invested an amount of capital, the total amount of capital or stock being divided into shares which could be bought and sold, and the whole used in a common commercial enterprise. Such a company could engage in more extensive business operations than those of the individual capitalist. Joint-stock companies began to operate in the first half of the century, although the first English company of that type was organized in 1553. All of these changes are sometimes said to constitute the Commercial Revolution and are described as the rise of modern capitalism. But it was an evolution rather than a revolution, and capital—that is, the profits of trade used to launch new trade—had been employed in mediaeval commerce. The main differences between modern capitalism and mediaeval capitalism are the greater accumulation of capital and its employment in more extensive business enterprises.

The New Type of Business Community. Antwerp. As trade broke through the old restrictions, it left the cities and towns where those restrictions were strongly retained and sought those where there was a greater freedom. Antwerp, for instance, owed its new greatness not only to the change in the trade routes, but also to the fact that it welcomed traders from everywhere and imposed no restrictions on them. Germans, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Scandinavians, Spaniards



Wegg: Antwerp: 1477-1559 *(Methuen)*

THE 1531 ANTWERP BOURSE (EXCHANGE)

Most of the later exchanges in the period were modelled after this building. When the famous London Exchange was built the architect and all materials were brought from Antwerp.

and Portuguese flocked to Antwerp. It was the great banking centre as well as the great business centre of Europe in the first half of the sixteenth century. There the modern commission business took its rise. A mediaeval merchant would frequently employ an agent to sell goods for him in a distant city, but each merchant had his own agent who did business for him alone. In Antwerp one agent acted for a number of merchants who did not come to the city to market their goods, the agent receiving a commission on all sales. There was also a great development of the insurance business in Antwerp. Over five hundred persons made a living selling insurance on ships. A considerable amount of life insurance was sold, most of it for stated periods such as a trading voyage by sea or land.

There was also established at Antwerp an "exchange" which may be regarded as the ancestor of Wall Street. It is doubtful if any shares of stock were sold on it because joint-stock companies had not gone far before the collapse of Antwerp's prosperity, but there was a feverish interest in the rise and fall of prices of commodities and the fluctuation of money exchange between various countries. Speculators studied carefully the news of war and peace and new trade developments in various quarters, which were brought by the hundreds of ships which entered Antwerp harbour every week, and by the traders who came by land, knowing that every fresh bit of news would affect the rise and fall of "the market". In 1531 a new building was erected for this exchange, and over its entrance were placed the words, "For the use of merchants of all nations and tongues". It was the symbol as well as the centre of a rapidly expanding trade that was international, free and individualistic.

Capitalizing of Industry. Manufacturing means literally making things by hand (*manu-facere*). It was to be two centuries yet before industry was conducted in great factories housing numbers of machines. But manufacturing in the old sense was already being capitalized. The mediaeval craftsman had worked with his own hands and sold the product of his labour; he had been limited by all sorts of guild regulations and was permitted to employ only a small number of journeymen. That type of industry continued. But a new type was developing rapidly. Wealthy capitalists were employing each a number of workmen. Even where a craftsman continued to work in his own home, both the raw material and the finished product now frequently belonged to a capitalistic employer who was practically paying wages to the craftsman.

SUGGESTIONS

NOTE:

Some of the questions asked and suggestions made are obviously difficult for high school pupils. Such questions are presented rather as challenges to thought than as matters entirely within the range of the pupil.

The dates given in the text and in these Suggestions should not be memorized. They are provided for reference and for use in time-charts to clarify time relations. A very few dates should be memorized and regarded as key-dates, to which other events may be related in a general way. No date in this chapter should be considered a key-date. For general purposes it is sufficient to know that Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe, the Spanish conquests in the new world, and the opening of an exchange in Antwerp occurred early in the sixteenth century, and that joint-stock companies began to appear about the middle of the century.

1. A time-chart should be begun with dates entered under "Spain" and "The Netherlands".

2. What should the rulers of Spain have done to acquire for the people of Spain the greatest benefits from the possession of the Spanish American colonies?

CHAPTER II

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

Causes. Religious. Across this world of increasing nationalism and expanding commerce there broke a great religious movement called the Protestant Reformation. It came out of an age that was not irreligious. Religious interest was very strong. The invention of printing had occurred about seventy years before the Protestant Reformation and the earliest printed books were concerned mainly with religion, many of them being deeply spiritual in character. The Bible was being translated into the languages of the common people. It was an age that produced *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis, a great Catholic book of devotion that has been read by many Protestants. This pre-reformation period witnessed two marked revivals of religious feeling, one associated with great religious spectacles and pilgrimages, and the other with mysticism, which may be defined as an intense seeking for union with God through contemplation and self-surrender. It was out of a religious yearning for better things that there sprang a criticism of existing conditions, a desire for reformation, and two great positive movements, the Protestant Reformation, and a continuing and intensified reforming activity within the Catholic Church, which has been called the Catholic Reformation.

Certainly there were abuses in the Church ready to be reformed. Their existence is fully recognized today by both Protestant and Catholic writers. But the urge to deal with them came from a welling up of spiritual life. The rules of the Church were too frequently violated and there were too many unworthy ecclesiastics. From the point of view of the Catholic Church it was unfortunate that the papacy itself was not free from the abuses. The popes had allowed themselves to become immersed in Italian politics at a time when Italian politics were particularly corrupt, and it was not long before men who were primarily politicians were seeking and obtaining the papacy for themselves in order to further the interests of the noble families to which they belonged. Conditions in Rome at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century were such as to arouse the strong protests of Savonarola and the reprobation of many men of high religious ideals who visited Rome at that time. Leo X who was pope when the Protestant Reformation began had held many offices in violation of the rules of the Church and sold offices in order to get money to beautify the city of Rome. Such facts help to explain the absence of strong leadership at Rome at the time when the revolt came. Certainly the papacy responded nobly to the crisis a few years later, but it was too late to avoid the splitting of Christendom in two.

Political. The old unity of Christendom was then being broken down into separate nations; as the nation states grew in power and in pride, economic as well as political life was nationalized and finally religious life was nationalized also. The rulers of the nation states resented the existence of a separate system of church courts. They especially resented appeals to Rome. When the Reformation came, many of them welcomed the opportunity to get into their hands the right of making church appointments and to make the church as subservient to the state as possible. In Germany, which was not a nation, a spirit of nationalism was abroad, and patriots were objecting to the interference of a foreign (papal) authority and to the money that was leaving the country to support the papacy.

Economic. Several economic factors have been included in the description in the last paragraph of the attitudes of kings and princes. It was in the commercial middle-class that Protestantism was to find most of its converts. The Church had been closely related to feudalism, which was now on the decline, and many churchmen had failed to grasp fully the outlook of the commercial class. The great offices of the Church were still held by those of noble family and were not easily obtained by men of the middle class.

Intellectual and Cultural. The critical spirit of Renaissance scholarship was bound to expose the organization and doctrines of the Church to searching criticism. And the worldly attitude of many Renaissance writers was unfriendly to the monastic ideal. While some of the leaders of the Italian Renaissance were Christian in their outlook, many were irreligious. In northern Europe practically all the intellectual leaders were intensely interested in religion. Men who had sought out a fountain-head of culture in the Greek and Latin classics were now seeking a fountain-head of religion in the Old and New Testaments in their original Hebrew and Greek. The tendency of Renaissance scholarship in Germany and the Netherlands was toward a religious reform on a Biblical basis.

The Reformation should not, however, be thought of as the child of Renaissance culture. There were perhaps more leaders of Renaissance scholarship who remained in the Catholic Church than there were who became Protestants. The Protestant theologians regarded humanity as being fundamentally bad and depraved, the Renaissance scholars regarded it as being fundamentally good and glorious.

Erasmus. The most famous scholar of the time was Erasmus. He was born at Rotterdam but he spent about equal periods of time in France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland and England, where he was a professor at Cambridge. His two hundred and twenty-six books included works on grammar, editions of the classics, translations, essays, satires, political discussions, devotional works, biblical studies. And through them all ran a lively and scintillating humour; he was a scholar who knew how to be interesting to the general reader. Many of his books were used as text-books and he has been called "the Schoolmaster of Europe". Whether or not he was "as a scholar, the most wonderful the world has ever known," certainly he reigned supreme in his own day. Kings displayed with pride specimens of his handwriting and whatever he wrote was of immediate interest to every educated man in Europe.

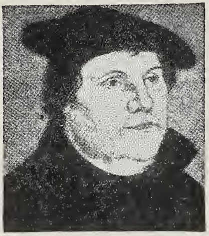
Ewing Galloway
ERASMUS

Outspoken criticism of the Church by such a man was bound to be influential and Erasmus did much to prepare the soil for the Reformation. A Catholic of the next generation wrote: "He so played the part of Momus [the god of ridicule] that he opened a mighty window for Luther and others to revolutionize all religion." Erasmus made stinging attacks on the abuses in the Church. He deplored the tendency of practices like the veneration of the saints and of relics to become superstitious and mechanical and to obscure, as he put it, the person of Christ. He opposed the compulsory celibacy of the clergy, urged that all church services should be conducted in the language of the worshippers instead of in Latin, and was remarkably free in his criticism of papal actions. In the notes to his edition of the Greek text of the New Testament he contrasted the religious practices of his day with those of the New Testament and suggested reform on the basis of the latter.

Erasmus emphasized religion of the heart as being more important than outward ceremonial, and said that Christianity was not primarily a matter of theology or of ceremony but of one's inner being and of conduct in relation to one's fellowmen. Statements like the following are scattered through his works: "To live well is the way to die well." "The best way to venerate the saints is to imitate their virtues." "How pure, how simple is the faith that Christ delivered to us! The Church . . . added to it many things, of which some can be omitted without prejudice to the faith."

When the Protestant Reformation broke out, the Protestants expected Erasmus to join them, and the Catholics urged him to support them in suppressing the new faith. He refused to do either and was consequently dubbed a coward by both sides. But his reasons for his actions were rooted in conviction. He wanted a reformation of the Church that would operate gradually through the deepening of religion and the spread of knowledge, a reformation from within the Church which would preserve its unity, for which Erasmus had the deepest affection and concern. "Reform, yes; revolution, no" was his position. He feared that a bitter cleavage in the church of Christ would result and would lead to terrible wars. But he was bold enough in his opposition to those who proposed to punish Luther because,unlike both the Catholic and Protestant leaders, Erasmus was a champion of religious liberty and opposed to the use of force to suppress religious convictions. When engaged in theological controversy he was not personal or abusive nor did he tell his opponents what they must believe. His attitude was that of a seeker after truth, anxious to find the truth through discussion. In that he approached the spirit of our own time.

Luther. On the other hand, Martin Luther, the leader of the Protestant Reformation, came to the conviction, rightly or wrongly, that no substantial reform was possible without revolution. And he was helped to that conviction by his temperament. He was a vigorous mixture of generosity, stubbornness, courage, tenderness, sentimentality, violence, good nature, industry, pessimism, and optimism. His father was a miner in central Germany who worked his way from dire poverty to a position of comparative comfort. Martin learned from his mother the most familiar passages of Scripture and the simplest prayers of the Church. In the course of time he acquired a good education. Having a pleasing voice he sang from house to house to work his way through high school. After graduating from the university, he entered a monastery. He gave himself earnestly to a study of the Bible and the early writers of the Church, and was appointed to a professorship at the new university of Wittenberg.



Clement: The Story of Britain (Harrap)

LUTHER

There, in the course of time, he quietly taught his students a theology which centred around the conception of "justification by faith alone." According to this teaching God saved a man by giving him faith in Himself. In the eyes of God faith was the only thing that counted. Man was saved by faith, not by works, although faith produced good works. Around that teaching Luther in the course of time built a religious position which rejected one by one many of the teachings and ceremonies of the Catholic Church and emphasized a direct relation between the individual and God.

In 1517 Pope Leo X proclaimed an indulgence to raise money for the building of St. Peter's Church. An indulgence is, in the teaching of the Catholic Church, a remission, not of the guilt of sin, but of the punishment which must still be undergone after the guilt is forgiven in the sacrament of penance. The Church taught that the efficacy of indulgences was conditioned on sincere repentance for the sins involved. But preachers commissioned to grant indulgences were not always careful to make this and other explanations. And in the fall of 1517 such a preacher, named Tetzel, came within eight miles of Wittenberg proclaiming indulgences in a sensational fashion.

Indignant at what he considered false teaching, Luther prepared ninety-five theses (brief debating resolutions) and posted them on the door of the castle-church at Wittenberg on October 31, 1517. That has always been taken as the beginning of the Protestant Reformation, yet all that Luther believed himself to be doing was challenging any professor of his own or another university to have a debate with him on those resolutions regarding the regularity of Tetzel's methods and other matters of religious practice. Such challenges to debate were customary, and there was nothing new about protests in regard to indulgences. But Luther could never do anything in an ordinary way, his words were white hot, and restlessness, if not revolt, was in the air. Demands for copies of the theses came from every quarter. A challenge to an academic debate written in Latin became a reform manifesto printed in German for every one to read. The presses were kept going night and day and still could not turn out enough copies. Luther rubbed his eyes in astonishment.

During the next three years, with Germany all agog, Luther was involved in a series of debates with churchmen and theologians in which the range of discussion was broadened to include many proposals of general reform, and Luther rejected in turn the authority of the pope and the authority of a general council of the Church. In 1520 he published three pamphlets in which he gave a clear statement of his position. His doctrine of "justification by faith alone" had now led him to a general revolt against sacraments. He retained two of the seven sacraments of the Church—baptism and the Lord's Supper. He declared "the priesthood of all believers" which meant that every man could obtain salvation without the need of a priest—that is he could be his own priest—and that a man could feel that he was called by God to any kind of work, any such "calling" being as sacred as that of a priest. To a declaration that the Scriptures constituted the supreme authority for all doctrine and practice, he added that every Christian should be free to interpret the Scriptures for himself. At the same time he advocated a greater control of religion by the state and made a strong bid for the support of the rulers of the German states. The Pope issued a declaration condemning Luther as a heretic if he did not retract certain statements. When the Pope's declaration arrived at Wittenberg Luther solemnly threw it into a bonfire. He had crossed his Rubicon.

In the following year, 1521, he was summoned before the Diet of Worms, a meeting of the German rulers. When warned by his friends that he might never leave Worms alive and that Huss, whose revolt had been less bold, had been burned a hundred years before, Luther replied: "If they make a fire that will fill the sky between Wittenberg and Worms, I will go on in the name of the Lord." When required, at the Diet, to withdraw his statements, his final declaration was: "Unless I am convinced by the testimony of Scripture or by clear reason—for I confide neither in the pope nor a council alone . . . I neither can nor will revoke anything, seeing that it is neither safe nor right to act against conscience. God help me. Amen." The majority of the Diet was against him, although he had many friends. After it dissolved, the Emperor issued an edict forbidding the reading of Luther's books and declaring him an outlaw. Luther's own prince, the Elector of Saxony, protected him by seizing him and hiding him away for a year and a half in the castle of the Wartburg, which towered over the town where Luther had sung in the streets for a living during his high school days. There, disguised as a knight, he began his famous translation of the Bible into German. There had been a number of such translations in the years immediately before this but none approached Luther's in excellence. He had a remarkable knowledge of German and its shades of meaning. His Bible and his great hymn "A mighty fortress is our God" were to be powerful forces in his movement. The outbreak of a great European war between the Emperor and the King of France, and the necessity of defending Western Europe against the Turks who were attacking from the east, made it impossible to enforce the Emperor's edict and gave the Lutheran movement a chance to grow.

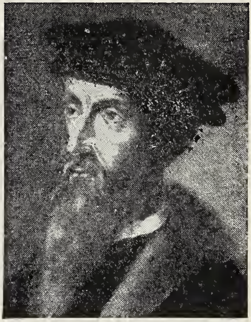
Those German rulers who signed a protest against a decision at one of the diets of the period which would have impeded the spread of Lutheranism were called "protest-ants" and thus the name Protestant came to be employed. A new church was organized in the territories of the Lutheran princes, in which the Lutheran positions already described were established, monasteries were suppressed and their property confiscated by the rulers, invocation of the saints and pilgrimages were discontinued, the clergy were permitted to marry, services were conducted in German, and new statements of doctrine were adopted. But it would be a mistake to think that religious liberty was established in the Protestant territories. In spite of Luther's earlier statements individuals were not free to interpret the Bible for themselves but must interpret it in accordance with Lutheran ideas.

War between the Catholics and Protestants of Germany broke out in the year of Luther's death (1546). It was waged bitterly but neither could crush the other, and in 1555 the principle was adopted that each separate ruler should be free to determine what the religion of his state should be.

Zwingli. A reformation movement in Switzerland, led by Zwingli, was independent of the Lutheran movement in origin, but was stimulated by it as it developed. The authority of the pope was rejected and changes effected similar to those in Germany. War between Catholics and Protestants broke out in Switzerland as in Germany and was followed by a settlement on a similar principle. The council of each canton (province) should decide the religion of that canton. Zwingli's influence in Switzerland was eclipsed by that of Calvin.

Calvin (1509-1564). John Calvin was the son of a French lawyer. He received a very remarkable education in the classics, theology and law. After being converted to Protestantism, he went to Basel in Switzerland where at the age of twenty-seven he completed and published a book by virtue of which he controlled the religious thinking of a large part of the Protestant world for over three hundred years. Its title was *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* and although it was greatly enlarged by subsequent editions, its main positions were all clearly stated in this first one. It was a systematic statement of Protestant theology presented in a clear literary style and with keen incisive logic. It gave Protestants something which they felt they could cling to as authoritative and assuring. From Basel young Calvin moved to Geneva where after some time he took control of politics, religious education and the whole life of the city. He made Geneva the model state of Protestantism, the capital, the missionary and educational centre, the power house for the Protestants of all the Western world except Germany and the Scandinavian states which were Lutheran. English Protestantism was only partly Calvinistic, but France, Scotland, Holland and later New England across the Atlantic all came to have what were called *Reformed* Churches that were Calvinistic in creed, worship and practice. From all these countries the leaders of Protestantism came to Geneva for guidance, and the future leaders for education; Calvin exchanged thousands of letters with the political and religious leaders of Protestantism throughout the Western world.

Although an extreme belief in predestination has usually been considered the main feature of Calvin's theology, that was only one aspect of his tremendous emphasis on the sovereignty of God. The law book of that sovereign was the Bible and Calvin with his legalistic mind constituted himself God's leading counsel who cited in support of every position, either theological or practical, chapter and verse of the Bible just as a lawyer cites statutes and cases. Calvinistic conceptions possessed a powerful intensity. The feeling of being the chosen instruments of the eternal decrees of an all-powerful Sovereign whose goal was the triumph of right over wrong lent a moral dignity to common lives.


New York Public Library
CALVIN

Life has seldom been so strictly regulated as by Calvin and his morals court in Geneva. Along with serious crimes and graver sins the following were punishable offences: failure to attend church, criticizing a preacher, breaking the Sabbath, praying for the dead, dancing, playing cards. Regulations were drawn up for meals and for dress with appropriate penalties for cooks and tailors. A mother and two bridesmaids were punished because they dressed a bride too gaily.

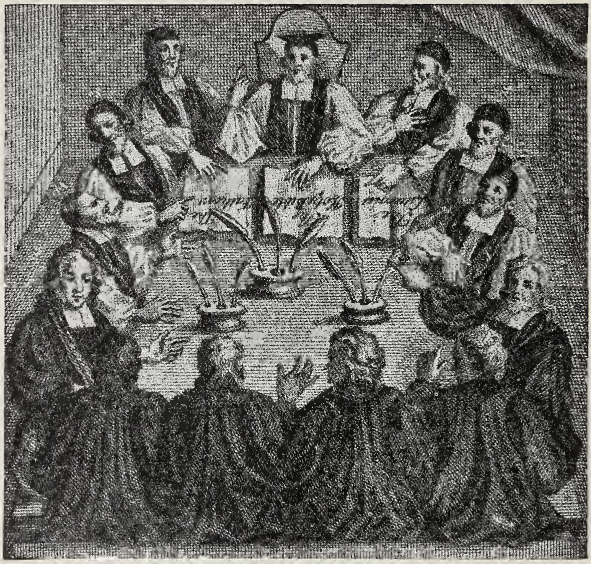
Calvin's measures did not seem nearly so harsh in his time as they do to us. Town governments in Calvin's day were rigidly regulating such amusements as dancing and card-playing, and passing laws in regard to the dress and meals of each social class. Calvin's regulations differed mainly in intensity. He believed that severity was necessary if he were to conquer what he considered superstitions, mistaken beliefs and moral abuses. His methods may not have succeeded in Geneva; it is doubtful if they could succeed anywhere. But the spirit, determination, and moral earnestness which he passed on to others who modified his methods helped to establish a purer, if somewhat strict, morality not only for Calvinists but for all Christians. And while trying to make people go to church by law broke down, Calvin did a great deal to stimulate the reading of the Bible, the better observance of Sunday, and the maintenance of an entirely new standard in regard to both an educated ministry and an educated laity.

As he drove others, Calvin drove himself. The mere thought of the list of the diseases from which he suffered would have prostrated many a man. Yet he worked incessantly, doing much of his writing when confined to his bed.

English Reformation. A reform movement in England led by Wycliffe had already embodied a sort of Protestantism, enough so to encourage many to look back and speak of Wycliffe and Wycliffe's followers as Protestants before Protestantism, and of Wycliffe himself as "The Morning Star of the Protestant Reformation". In the years immediately preceding the beginning of Luther's movement there was a marked revival of Wycliffite teaching in England. Another current of English life was closely associated with Protestantism. English nationalism had been strong for centuries. The feeling that English religious affairs should be controlled by the English government had been asserted before and was bound to be revived in the days of the Tudor despotism.

These two forces might have produced the English reformation in the course of time if there had been no Lutheran revolt. As it was they strengthened the Lutheran influence which made its way into the country and became particularly prominent in the merchant class. The break from Rome was precipitated however by Henry the Eighth's desire to have his marriage to Catherine of Aragon annulled. Since Catherine had been the wife of Henry's deceased brother, the marriage would not have been allowed by the ordinary rules of the Church but it had been permitted by papal dispensation. It seemed very important for Henry politically that he should have a son and he was superstitious enough to believe that the death of several sons in infancy was God's judgement against this marriage. Certainly he had thought of having his marriage dissolved long before he fell in love with Anne Boleyn. After that Henry became insistent and when the marriage was not dissolved by the pope he took the extreme nationalist position. He induced parliament to abolish the rights of the pope in England and to make the king "the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England". The new archbishop of Canterbury annulled Henry's marriage.

Henry's next move was to begin a suppression of the monasteries which he completed some years later. Certainly many monasteries had declined from their high achievements in education and general service to society. But there are ugly aspects of Henry's action. Thomas Cromwell who engineered the suppression had promised to make Henry the richest king in Christendom. Henry had enough left over to establish some educational institutions and to give a share of the spoils to rich favourites who were influential nobles, country squires, and merchant princes. Thus a vested interest was created in the break from Rome. If a counter movement were to attempt to restore papal jurisdiction and monasticism, the owners of those lands could be relied on to oppose it. Henry attempted to compromise with doctrinal Protestantism by introducing some Protestant practice and teaching into the Church, but in the last years of his reign he harshly persecuted those who held pronounced Protestant views. His position was nationalist and anti-papal, though departing little from Catholic doctrine.



Strong: Today Through Yesterday (University of London Press)

MAKING THE FIRST ENGLISH PRAYER BOOK

Cranmer is presiding. If you turn the picture upside down you can read the three sources of the book: the earlier Liturgies, the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers (early writers of the Church).

Edward VI was a child at the time of his accession. His "protectors" or regents pursued a marked Protestant policy.

Two very important achievements belong to Edward VI's reign. One was the issuing of the Book of Common Prayer. It was almost entirely the work of Archbishop Cranmer. Old Catholic forms were used, amendments and additions were made, an intensity and depth of religious feeling were embodied in it, and the whole expressed in beautiful English which has seldom been rivalled. The result is that to this day the Church of England has a service that in its expression of a multiplicity of religious needs is at once beautiful and powerful. A recent Catholic writer has said of the first Prayer Book: "He [Cranmer] gave strength to the newly-established religion which it would never have derived from any other source. . . . He gave to the Church of England a treasure by the . . . effect of which more than anything else, her spirit has remained alive and she has attached herself to the hearts of men". Forty-two Articles of Faith were drawn up (later changed to Thirty-Nine) which were definitely Protestant in character. There was no change in the organization of the Church. It had severed its connection with Rome, it had become nationalized, and it had taken on a new form of service and distinctly Protestant doctrine. Already in the reign of Edward VI there was apparent a tendency, which has given strength to the Church of England, to bring together in organization and worship those who in matters of detail might differ considerably in religious thought and feeling.

Mary's reign ended much of the new Protestantism, but only for the time being. In her effort to restore Catholicism Mary attempted to do away with Protestantism. The resultant persecution was not excessive, when compared with those of continental monarchs of the time, Catholic and Protestant alike. Of the executions two particularly have lived in the memories and hearts of Englishmen. Latimer and Ridley, who had become the greatest of the popular preachers of

Protestantism, were burned at the stake together. They had been fearless preachers and they died in the same spirit. From the flames Latimer said to Ridley, "This day we shall light such a candle by God's grace in England, as I trust, shall never be put out."

Under Elizabeth the final Protestant settlement was made and by the end of her long reign England was Protestant in doctrine and feeling as well as in form. By that time too the habit of Bible-reading had established its formative influence on English life and thought. As one of the most thoughtful of English historians has phrased it: "The effect of the continual domestic study of the Book upon the national character, imagination and intelligence for nearly three centuries to come, was greater than that of any literary movement of our annals or any religious movement since the coming of St. Augustine. New worlds of history and poetry were opened in its pages to a people that had little else to read. Indeed, it created a habit of reading and reflection in whole classes of the community and turned a tinker into one of the great masters of the English tongue".[1]

Scottish Reformation. The English Reformation had begun when Lutheranism was the dominant form of Protestantism. By the time Scotland was ripe for religious revolt Calvinism seemed to be the most aggressive religious force in the Protestant world. The Scottish Reformation found a powerful leader in John Knox. For Knox, his friends were always right and his opponents always wrong, and he fought his enemies without quarter, with blistering words and biting humour. But he "never feared the face of man", he gave every ounce of his strength—the supply of which seemed to be inexhaustible—to what he believed to be a great cause, and he had the genius to create strong institutions for his people and the foundation of an educational system that did wonders for them.

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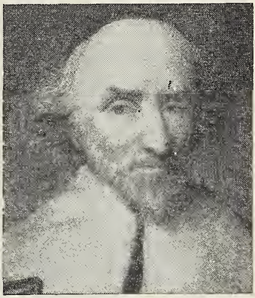
[1] TREVELYAN, G. M.: *Shortened History of England* (Longmans).

Knox received a university education, was ordained as a priest, converted to Protestantism, and preached the new faith. He was captured by a French fleet and worked as a galley slave for a year and a half. Then he spent some years in England where he did much to lay the foundations of Puritanism. He learned to love John Calvin and it was from Geneva that he gave his first outstanding leadership to the Scottish Reformation. A group of Scottish nobles had banded themselves together in support of the new religious movement in an organization called "the Congregation of the Lord" and its leaders came to be known as "the Lords of the Congregation". On their insistence Knox returned to Scotland where he began to lay the basis of a new religious organization. A religious national assembly, the Assembly of the Kirk (Church) became a powerful institution, playing a part similar to that played by Parliament in England. And in every parish, elected elders were associated with a minister in the government of the congregation. The Protestant insistence on laymen playing a large part in religion took these forms in Scotland, while in England it took the form of royal and parliamentary regulation of the Church.



KNOX

Mary Stuart, Queen of the Scots, had inherited the throne as a child, but at this time she was the Queen of France as the wife of the French king. Her aunt, a French woman, was acting as regent with French troops to support her. Scottish nationalism expressed itself in a revolt against that situation and Elizabeth sent help from England to drive out the French soldiers. That was a turning point in history. Before that Scotland had always been allied with France against England. Now the common religious feeling brought Scotland and England together and helped to prepare the way for their later union.

In 1561, after the death of her French husband, Mary went to Scotland to rule the country. The Presbyterian Church was already fully established. Mary, a strong Catholic, was as proud as Knox and was a clever woman but unfortunately lacked wisdom. The clashes between the Queen and Knox were frequent and spirited. "I see," said Mary, "that my subjects shall obey you rather than me." "Madam," Knox replied, "my study is that both princes and people should obey God." The spirit of Calvinism was never better expressed. The story of Mary's mistakes, including her unfortunate marriages, is well known. Scottish feeling turned against her and she was forced to abdicate and seek refuge in England. Knox had the game in his own hands and the Presbyterianism which he had established went on in the ascendant to mould the life of the Scottish people.

Anabaptists. The Anabaptists were the radicals of the Protestant Reformation. When Luther proclaimed that all Christians should be free to interpret the Bible for themselves he started something that neither he nor anyone else could control. Radicals sprang up on every hand who pushed the logic of Protestant positions further than any of the new state churches desired and who refused to conform to those churches. Most of these radicals were called Anabaptists (Re-baptizers) because they rejected infant baptism and practiced adult baptism on individual profession of faith. Since they were opposed to anyone being required to subscribe to any statement of faith and believed in complete religious liberty the greatest divergence of opinion developed among them. Some looked forward to an immediate second coming of Christ. Others again, interpreting the Sermon on the Mount literally, took the position that it was un-Christian to take human life in any circumstances, including war and capital punishment, or to take an oath. The most important positions shared by all Anabaptists were that church membership should be a matter of free voluntary choice; that each local church should control its own affairs and that each member should have a voice in its government; that no one should be persecuted or discriminated against in any way on account of religion, which should be a matter of individual freedom; and that the door to church membership should be adult baptism voluntarily undertaken.

The Anabaptists came mostly from the lower class and the lower middle class, and represented their social and political gropings after a larger freedom. They had their share of scholarly leadership. Everywhere in Europe they were persecuted freely by both Catholics and Protestants. How many thousands of them died for their faith no one will ever know, but that so many were willing to die rather than recant is not without its significance. The democracy which they practised made its way ultimately in both theory and practice into the states of the Western world and they pioneered for complete religious liberty. Of later bodies the Baptists, Congregationalists and Quakers were all influenced by the Anabaptists, absorbed some of their views, and continued their championship of democracy and religious liberty.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter in your time chart under "Protestant Reformation" the dates given in the text and: 1534—King made head of the Church of England; 1558—Accession of Elizabeth. 1517 and 1558 are key-dates.

2. Do some further reading on two of the following: Erasmus, Luther, Calvin, Knox. Then compare those two in regard to character and career.

CHAPTER III

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION

From a consideration of the movement which split the Christian Church and destroyed its unity, while it let loose on the world new forms of doctrine, worship and religious organization, we turn to a study of the efforts for reform *within* the Catholic Church.

"Reform of the Church in Head and Members." That phrase was first employed two hundred years before Luther launched his revolt. During the two intervening centuries it served as a refrain, or as we would say, a slogan for a considerable number of men who wrote and laboured for a reform in the Church. It had been the aim of that series of reforming councils in the fifteenth century which began with the Council of Constance (See New and Phillips, *Ancient and Mediaeval History*, p. 468). The councils achieved some measures of reform and they arranged for the regular holding of local synods to enforce stricter discipline among the clergy, more frequent preaching and rules against non-residence. That there was still a need for a "reform of the Church in head and members" was the one proposition to which every one in the later fifteenth and in the early sixteenth century was willing to agree.

Scholarly Reformers in Germany and England. Without any immediate thought of revolt against the papacy, many of the scholars of Northern Europe sought to improve the education of the clergy, to effect practical reforms in the Church and to translate the Bible into the language of the people. Before Luther had ever thought of translating the Bible these men had effected fourteen translations of it into German and five into Dutch, and before Luther had published his first complete edition, there were thirty Catholic editions of the Bible in German.

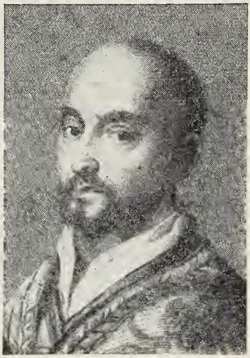
Erasmus has been claimed—and disclaimed—by both Protestant and Catholic Reformations, but in any case he was a Catholic, not a Protestant. His two closest friends in England, Colet and More, shared his zeal for reform, his tolerant attitude, his emphasis on religion of the heart expressed in practical Christianity and also his devotion to the unity of the Church. One of them, Dean Colet of St. Paul's, preached a return to the Christianity of the Gospels and deprecated what he called "later inventions." He was opposed to bishops having too much secular business, and urged the enforcement of regulations against non-residence of the clergy, reform of the church courts and frequent holding of local church councils for the continual reform of the Church. Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England and author of the famous *Utopia*, also advocated a thorough-going reform of the Church. He preferred to be beheaded rather than subscribe to Henry VIII's headship of the Church and it was characteristic of him that he went to the block with a jest on his lips and a prayer for his enemies.

MORE

A Catholic Reformation in Spain. In one European country the reforming efforts of individuals before the Lutheran revolt were supported by a great weight of authority. In Spain Ximenes, the leader of a widespread reform movement in the later years of the fifteenth century, was an archbishop and a cardinal of the Church. As the adviser of Queen Isabella, he did much to control her policy, particularly in religious matters, and for a time acted as regent. Although not cruel in temperament, Ximenes believed in harsh methods to root out the evils in the Church. He employed a restored Inquisition against Moslems, Jews and heretics. In like manner he meted out drastic punishments to priests and monks whose conduct was unworthy. A distinguished scholar himself, he founded new universities and established a high standard of education for the clergy. Under his leadership the Church in Spain was thoroughly reformed.

Reforming Movements in Italy. Just at the time Luther was beginning his movement in Germany, a number of leading men in the Church were meeting in Rome in what was called the "Oratory [prayer-circle] of Divine Love" to pray and plan for the reform of the Church. A little later (in 1524) one of these men established an order, not of monks but of the secular clergy, the Theatines, whose principal aim was to be the effecting of reforms. Two years later again a group of Franciscans founded a reform order called the Capuchins which sought to restore the original ideals of St. Francis. They carried on a remarkable religious and charitable work among the poor of Italy.

Ignatius Loyola. In May 1521, a month after Luther made his final defiant speech at the Diet of Worms, a young Spanish officer named Ignatius Loyola had his right leg broken by a cannon ball at the siege of a town in Spain. He was spirited, quick-tempered, above all ambitious to win a great name for himself as a military leader. As his leg was healing (it remained partly crippled for life), he asked for books containing stories of the glorious deeds of knighthood. They could not be readily obtained; so he read a life of Christ and a few lives of the saints including a biography of St. Dominic. As he read, he felt stirred to a new field of adventure and achievement. "How would it be," he asked himself, "if I did what St. Dominic did?" Soon the decision was made that he was to be a soldier of Christ and the Church. After his recovery, he went to a famous shrine, performed a vigil like that of the knights, placed his armour and weapons on the altar, and clothed himself in a suit of sack-cloth. In the next few years he made two further decisions. If he was to carry his soldier's spirit effectively into the Church he must assume a practical attitude more suitable to the day in which he lived than the extreme asceticism of the mediaeval saints which he had been imitating, and he must acquire an education. Latin was still the educated man's language and although over thirty, he sat down to learn it with boys. In the course of time he attended a Spanish university and then the University of Paris.



New York Public Library

LOYOLA

He roomed with a young Spanish nobleman named Francis Xavier who was the champion broad jumper of the university. Xavier's ambition, or lack of ambition, was quite different from that of Loyola. He hoped for a good position in the Church, that had few duties attached to it and where he could live a life of ease and comfort. While he was talking about that one day, Loyola cut in with: "And what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" With these words the call to a soldier's service came to the man who was to be the greatest of the pioneers of modern missions. Xavier was one of a group of six students whom Loyola had gathered about himself, inspired with his outlook, and initiated into his Spiritual Exercises. When ready to leave the university, in a little tumble-down church outside the walls of Paris they knelt before the altar and took vows to go to Jerusalem on a mission to the Moslems or, if that were not possible, to ask the pope "how they could best serve the souls of their neighbours". Then they walked from Paris to Rome. The mission to Jerusalem was found to be impossible. In Italy they preached in simple direct style in the open air and engaged in social service, including the opening of a refuge in Rome with a "bread-line" for "down-and-outs" and arrangement for the lodging of three thousand men. The Italians, accustomed to religious orders, asked them what order they belonged to, and when they took the question to Loyola he said: "Tell them we belong to the Company of Jesus". He used the term in a military sense.

The Jesuit Order. The Company of Jesus came to be called the Society of Jesus and is popularly known as the Jesuit Order. It was sanctioned by the pope as an order of the Catholic Church in 1540. It soon took on large proportions. Its organization and discipline were similar to those of an army. Loyola was selected as its first General. He was a masterly leader, combining the gifts of the visionary and the practical man. The manner in which he radiated enthusiasm to those who talked with him has been compared to that of Pitt in the Seven Years' War. He ruled his order with an iron hand, but there was a tenderness in him that led one of his followers to say: "No mother has such care for her sons as our blessed father has for *his* sons—especially the weak and the sick." He said that it was an admirable providence of God which sent him so much illness in order that he might learn to feel the anguish of others. A scholarly Protestant biographer has said of Loyola: "There is no more gallant and passionate lover of souls in human history."

One of the essential features of the Jesuit Order was the Spiritual Exercises, a sort of spiritual drill which Loyola invented for his Christian soldiers. Four weeks usually were spent in intense prayer and meditation, during which, under the guidance of a director, one visualized the results of sin, the experiences and parables of Christ, the loyalty owed by the Christian soldier to Christ as his King. And one was to ask oneself questions such as: "What have I done for Christ? What am I doing for Christ? What ought I to do for Christ?"

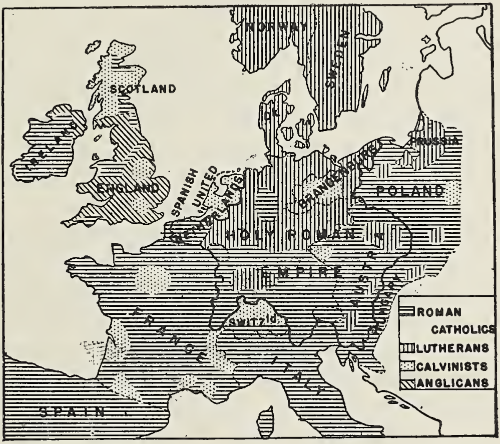
While the whole Christian programme was included in the aims of the Jesuit Order, its achievements were particularly notable in education, social service—much of it of a rather novel character—and foreign missions. A remarkable stimulus was given to the education of the priesthood, education for a strong quality of Christian leadership, and general education. Sir Francis Bacon paid a high tribute to the excellence of the Jesuit universities and colleges. A few months after the founding of the order, Francis Xavier had started on his famous foreign mission. From the Portuguese settlement at Goa he made his way to Japan, preaching and baptizing as he went. Within a short time there were Jesuit missions in Brazil and Paraguay, and in central Africa. In the next century the Jesuits began their heroic missions in Canada.

The Counter Reformation. What is called the Counter Reformation is part of the Catholic Reformation. The latter had begun before the Lutheran movement. But the growing strength of Protestantism produced a counter reformation in two senses. The reform in the Catholic Church was speeded up under the influence of Protestantism and the importance of offsetting it. And a strong effort was begun to win back for the Catholic Church as many persons and as much territory as possible. The Jesuit Order, for instance, began as a great spiritual movement with no special thought of combating Protestantism. The fact that its early leadership was Spanish is related to the thorough-going Catholic

Reformation in Spain a generation before Luther. But as the struggle between Protestants and Catholics became acute all over Europe, it became apparent that for such a war (in the figurative sense) a religious movement organized along military lines was particularly well adapted. The Jesuits became the most successful force in combating Protestantism. Southern Germany, Poland, and Hungary particularly were held to the Catholic faith mainly through the efforts of the Jesuits. After the earlier period some of the methods which they employed were frequently criticized by the Protestants who were naturally prejudiced against them, and sometimes by Catholic rulers who, accusing them of political intrigues, severely regulated their activities and in some cases even banished them from their realms.

The Council of Trent. Another great factor in the Counter Reformation was the Council of Trent where the pope, bishops, theologians, and representatives of the whole Church met in three periods between 1545 and 1563. The doctrines of the Catholic Church were more clearly defined than they had ever been before, to remove all uncertainties and at the same time to provide a basis for combating Protestantism. The supremacy of the pope over Christendom was reaffirmed and the beliefs and traditions of the Church were declared to be of equal authority with the Bible. The Council provided against abuses in the Church, improved its discipline, and gave a strong impetus to preaching and the education of the clergy. The papacy and the Jesuits were the strongest forces in the Council.

A Reforming Papacy. Papal leadership of the Catholic Reformation had begun at Rome under a Spanish pope, a direct product of the reformation in that country, as early as the year after the Diet of Worms. It continued under a succession of popes who gave as vigorous and spiritual a leadership to the Church as had the greatest of the popes of the Middle Ages. That too was an important factor in the Counter Reformation. Other counter reformation activities that were employed against Protestantism were the Inquisition and the Index of prohibited books which Catholics were not permitted to read.


NORWAY
SWEDEN
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
DK
PRUSSIA
SPANISH
UNITED
NETHERLANDS
BRANDENBURG
POLAND
HOLY ROMAN
EMPIRE
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
SWITZ'LD
FRANCE
ITALY
SPAIN
ROMAN CATHOLICS
LUTHERANS
CALVINISTS
ANGLICANS

RELIGIOUS MAP OF EUROPE AFTER THE REFORMATION
In each country the general shading shows the predominant religion, and minorities are indicated by patches. The patches, however, do not represent proportions or exact geographical locations. The heavy line bounds the Holy Roman Empire.

Wars of Religion. One form of the clash between Protestantism and Catholicism was actual warfare. In fact the series of religious wars which devastated France in the sixteenth century and the later Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) in Germany were in some respects the most terrible wars in modern history. Apparently the loss of life in the Thirty Years' War was between one-third and two-fifths of the total population of Germany. The moral and cultural destruction was probably even worse.

The Religious Map of Europe. By 1648 the religious map of Western Europe had assumed a practically permanent form. In every area there were minorities, but in the main France, the Italian states, Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, Poland, Ireland and most of the southern German states, including Austria, remained Catholic. Most of the northern German states and the Scandinavian countries were Lutheran. Holland, Scotland and strong minorities in France and England were Calvinist. Switzerland was Calvinist and Catholic. England was Anglican before and after the Commonwealth and Protectorate.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Place in your time chart under "Catholic Reformation" and "Wars of Religion" the dates given in the text.
2. Compare Loyola and Calvin, after further reading.
3. Write a short essay on Jesuit missions in Canada.
4. Read further on the character and results of the Thirty Years' War and then discuss the question whether or not it was the most terrible war in modern history.

CHAPTER IV

REVOLT AGAINST ABSOLUTISM IN THE NETHERLANDS

The Age of Absolute Monarchy. The power of nation-states and a spirit of nationalism were apparent everywhere in the sixteenth century. To the rulers and to most of their subjects, order and progress alike seemed to depend on their wielding an absolute rule each in his own country. And absolutism was supported everywhere by a theory that these rulers were chosen by God and endowed by Him with power.

Spanish Absolutism. Philip II (1556-1598). At the beginning of our period in 1500, the Holy Roman Empire still lived on, but the "seven electors" always chose as Emperor the head of the Hapsburg family. That family had added territory to territory in central Europe, the whole constituting "the Austrian possessions". (See New and Phillips, *Ancient and Mediaeval History*, page 464). One of their favourite means of territorial expansion was a series of well conceived political marriages, culminating in two very remarkable ones, that of the Emperor Maximilian to Mary of Burgundy, ruler of the Netherlands, and that of their son Philip to the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, the rulers of Spain. The son of this last marraige, who became Emperor as Charles V in 1519, was the sovereign of a vast territory—the Austrian possessions, the Netherlands, and Spain which now had an empire of its own with large possessions in the new world as well as some holdings in Italy. When Charles V, sick of politics, abdicated and entered a monastery, he divided this vast empire, the Austrian possessions going to his brother

Ferdinand, and Spain (with *its* empire) and the Netherlands going to his son who became Philip II of Spain.

When Philip II came to the throne absolutism was more firmly established in Spain than in any other country in Europe. So far as others played any part in government they were completely dependent on the king; there was no check on his power. Philip determined to establish in all his dominions his absolute rule and conformity to the Catholic Church. He believed that God had called him to that task. And he had plenty of industry and strength of character to sustain it. But his mind and his sympathies were narrow. He was cold and secretive. He had so much confidence in himself that the most minute details of government had to come to him for decisions. The pile of reports, despatches and papers of all sorts got higher and higher. Really important matters in all parts of his empire went from bad to worse because of the delay in hearing from the king. On his accession he had faced a sadly depleted treasury. He believed that his main hope of financial relief lay in heavy taxation of the Netherlands.

Clement: The Story of Britain (Harrap)
PHILIP II

The Netherlands. By far the most prosperous part of Philip's empire was that stretch of land along the north coast of Europe called the Netherlands, or the low countries. It was divided into a number of provinces, each very jealous of certain rights of self-government. In most of the country the Dutch language was spoken, but a French dialect was the dominant language of the extreme south. In the south where commerce was highly developed, Antwerp was at this time the wealthiest city in Europe and the greatest centre of trade. In the north, though Amsterdam was growing as a commercial centre, more of the people were fishermen, sailors and ship-builders. While merchants from all over Europe flocked to Antwerp, much of the trade of northern Europe was carried in the ships of the northern Netherlands. Protestantism had made rapid progress among merchants, artisans and sailors, but at an equal rate in north and south. It was many years after Philip's accession before the majority of the northern Netherlanders were Protestants, and the later cleavage between a Protestant north and a Catholic south was the result of the troubled history of his reign.

When Charles V was the ruler of the Netherlands he was fairly popular. He had been born in the country. The people thought of him as one of themselves and were even proud to belong to his vast empire. He respected their local "privileges", the rights of self-government enjoyed by the various provinces and cities. The day on which Charles ceased to govern the Netherlands provided a striking contrast between the old emperor who bade them farewell with the tears running down his cheeks, and his son Philip, a Spaniard to the core, who looked on his new subjects with eyes that were cold and aloof, and signalled to some one else to make a speech for him because he could speak nothing but Spanish. Philip was determined from the beginning to disregard their local "privileges", to rule them as absolutely as he ruled Spain itself and to tax them without restraint. They, on their side, resented Philip as a foreign tyrant and objected to the taxing of their vast trade to build up the power of Spain.

The Beginning of Revolt. While Philip offended the Netherlanders politically and economically, the first issues that were raised were of a religious character. Charles had persecuted Protestants severely. But most of the Netherland Protestants in Charles's reign were Anabaptists and, in spite of a few mad fanatics, most of them were pacific. They also lacked organization. Of the thousands of Anabaptist martyrs a modern Dutch historian has written: "Theirs was a faith which taught them how to bear persecution with dignity . . . but which on account of its gentleness, as well as its individualism, was unfit for the task of raising a people to resistance." But, in Philip's reign, the majority of Netherland Protestants were Calvinists, and Calvinism everywhere was a fighting faith. Calvinism, also, was everywhere opposed to absolutism, in England where absolutism was Protestant, as well as in France and the Netherlands where it was Catholic. Where, in matters of religion, the authority of a king clashed with what they regarded as the authority of the Bible, they would fight that king to the death. And they, unlike the Anabaptists, were well organized; the genius of John Calvin lived with them. In the Netherlands, too, many of the Catholics were opposed to the persecution of Protestants. It must be remembered that Erasmus had been a Dutchman and his pioneer championship of religious toleration lived on among the Netherland Catholics.

From a photograph of the painting at Delft

WILLIAM THE SILENT

William the Silent. When Philip ordered that the decrees of the Council of Trent should be enforced in the Netherlands, one of those who protested was a wealthy Catholic nobleman, William of Orange, Stadtholder (Governor) of the province of Holland. He was frequently called William the Silent, although he was an accomplished orator. A poor soldier, he was always at his best in his efforts to persuade men by speech. But he was called "the silent" because he knew how to keep a secret and to guard his lips against harsh and tactless statements. His high courage, dogged perseverance and love of freedom were contagious. It was those spiritual qualities, rather than great intellectual gifts, which gave him leadership in the struggle that ensued. The voice of Erasmus spoke through his words at this time: "The King errs if he thinks the Netherlands can indefinitely support these sanguinary edicts. However strongly I am attached to the Catholic religion, I cannot approve of princes attempting to rule the consciences of their subjects and wanting to rob them of the liberty of faith." Protestants continued to be burned at the stake by Philip's orders in spite of the sympathy of the people, and even of the officials.

The Beggars. A number of lesser nobles and wealthy merchants, called the "confederates", most of them Catholics, petitioned the king to withdraw the edicts and abolish the Inquisition. When a deputation from that group was approaching the palace in Brussels, an arrogant courtier said to the regent, "Is your highness afraid of these beggars?" Three days later, at a banquet of the confederates, the story was told and immediately the hall rang with cries of "Long live the beggars." The people took up the idea and from that night to the winning of final freedom, the symbols of opposition to absolutism in the Netherlands were a coarse grey beggar's gown, a beggar's bowl and a beggar's wallet.

While waiting the king's reply to the petition of protest, the Protestants held services openly in the fields and on the roads. It soon became apparent that general religious liberty was not what the Calvinists wanted. Calvinist mobs broke into the Catholic churches in many towns, smashing the statues and sacred shrines in wild fanaticism and with no respect for either beauty or Catholic feeling.

Alva. When Philip heard of these events, he said "It shall cost them dear, I swear it by the soul of my father." His answer arrived in 1567 in the form of a strong Spanish army under the Duke of Alva. With the full support of the king, Alva was determined to destroy all rights of self-government in the Netherlands and to reduce the country to a reign of sheer absolutism. To quote Alva's own words, a fitting description of "totalitarianism" in all ages: "The towns must be punished . . . with the loss of their privileges. A goodly sum must be squeezed out of private persons. Everyone must be made to live in constant fear of the roof breaking down over his head. . . . Thus the states will not dare to refuse what is proposed to them in the king's name." He set aside the ordinary courts, which are always the bulwark of liberty, and established a council controlled by himself. On account of its injustice and cruel penalties it was called the Council of Blood.

The people were now united in feeling against the monarchy, although divided in religion. William of Orange began an armed revolt against the government which at first was unsuccessful. Alva followed up his victory by imposing new and severe taxes upon practically all commercial transactions. For a nation of traders the result was a financial panic. Rents in Antwerp fell to one-sixth of what they had been. Imports decreased at a similar rate and the harbour of Antwerp was full of empty boats instead of the hundreds of loading and unloading ships that had crowded its docks.

The Sea Beggars. When these taxes were first proposed William of Orange granted letters of marque to the sailors of Holland and Zealand—that is, licenses to attack the shipping of the enemy, in this case Spain. The sea-loving Dutchmen jumped at the chance and were joined by malcontents from the south. These men, who called themselves Sea Beggars, plundered Spanish shipping and built up a strong naval power. In 1572 they captured the strategic town of Brill in the northern Netherlands. Then for the first time there was a general rising of the people and one city after another threw off the Spanish yoke. William of Orange placed himself at the head of this revolt in the north, inspiring the fight against

Spanish tyranny and at the same time trying to suppress the intolerance of the Calvinist leaders. By this time he had become a Protestant. His ideal throughout was complete religious liberty. Within a few years nearly the whole of the northern Netherlands had been conquered by the rebels, who faced hardship with tenacity and courageously overcame discouragement.

An important incident in this conquest was the raising of the siege of Leyden. It was in rebel hands and besieged by the Spaniards. Since it was an inland city the rebels could not bring their sea power to bear on the situation. But after months of siege men and women were starving in Leyden. The dikes were cut and water let in over the farms and villages so that the light-draught ships of the Sea Beggars could reach the Spanish forts. As the water approached the city the watchers on the walls could hardly endure their hunger and weakness. Every now and then a man, or woman, would drop where he stood. Then the Spaniards, afraid that their retreat would be cut off, left in the middle of the night and as the dawn broke, the Sea Beggars were rushing food into the city to the cheers of the famished populace. Such was the spirit of the unsung heroes of the Dutch fight for freedom. About their leader, William of Orange, a song was written which may be called the battle-hymn of the Dutch republic and which is still their great national song.

Division Between North and South. Philip II placed a price on William's head and he was assassinated, but the fight went on. Much of the southern Netherlands was for a time conquered by the rebels, but it was easier for Spain to reconquer that territory than the northern Netherlands, where the Dutch naval forces could operate more effectively. So after years of warfare the southern Netherlands remained Spanish and the seven provinces of the northern Netherlands became "the Republic of the United Netherlands." A truce in 1609 practically ended the war although Spain did not recognize the new nation until the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. Protestants gradually moved from the south to the north and that movement was aided by the later Spanish religious policy, which gave the Protestants of the south four years to leave the country or accept Catholicism. So the north (United Netherlands) became Protestant and the south (Spanish Netherlands) Catholic.

Government. The successive heads of the house of Orange, which was regarded with great affection, were elected stadtholders of the republic. There developed a form of government that was a complicated compromise between monarchy, oligarchy and democracy, and between central and local governments. For several generations the United Netherlands led the world in the spirit and practice of religious toleration.

Results. It was a great civilization that was built on the foundation of that heroic struggle for freedom. Amsterdam succeeded Antwerp—ruined by Spanish rule—as the greatest commercial city in the world, Dutch merchants organized great companies and pushed their trade on every sea, much of the world's commerce was carried in Dutch ships, and Holland contended for empire in the undeveloped continents with England and France. Dutch scholarship gave the world Hugo Grotius, the founder of international law. The artistic genius of the people produced the great Dutch painting of that period, led by the immortal works of Rembrandt.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter in your time chart under "The Netherlands" the dates given in the text.

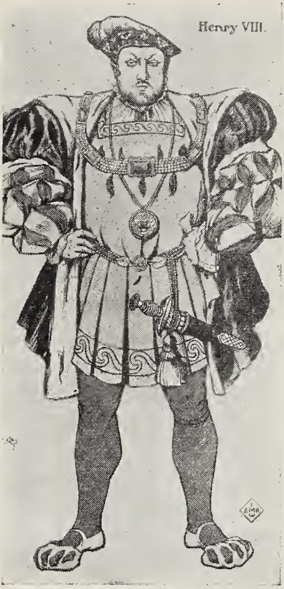
2. Read further and write a short essay on William the Silent.

CHAPTER V

THE REVOLT AGAINST ABSOLUTISM IN ENGLAND. I.

The Tudor Despotism. Henry VII. The English kings during the Hundred Years' War had been anything but arbitrary rulers. Parliament had obtained the power to make laws, had secured control of taxation, and the habit had developed of parliament meeting annually. The legal rights of parliament remained but its actual power was eclipsed by the Tudor despotism. The Hundred Years' War had been followed by the Wars of the Roses, a series of civil wars in which no one was interested except the nobles of the land, who, with their bands of retainers, did the fighting. The casualties were so heavy, so many of the nobles were killed, that when the smoke cleared away on Bosworth Field (1485) and Henry Tudor had emerged victorious and become the undisputed ruler of England as Henry VII, the political power of the nobility was crippled and could no longer thwart the royal will.

Henry VII, thrifty, secretive, lacking in colour, firm of purpose and hard-working, realized the need of peace both at home and abroad, built up a large royal treasury by various devices, maintained order with a strong hand, encouraged commerce and prosperity and transferred the control of trade from the towns to the national government. His achievements established a strong monarchy and at the same time won the support of the House of Commons who applauded the king as he accomplished the things which were desired by its own members and their constituents. Patiently and surely Henry VII laid the foundation on which his more colourful son and grand-daughter were to build. When the Tudor sovereigns desired to use parliament they were in a position to give leadership to it and parliament was ready and anxious to support them. But they had no intention of summoning parliament except at times when that seemed necessary to further the objects of their government which was essentially a despotism, a remarkably popular despotism. Henry VII called parliament together five times in twenty-four years.



Robinson & Ward: Rulers of England (Harrap)
HENRY VIII

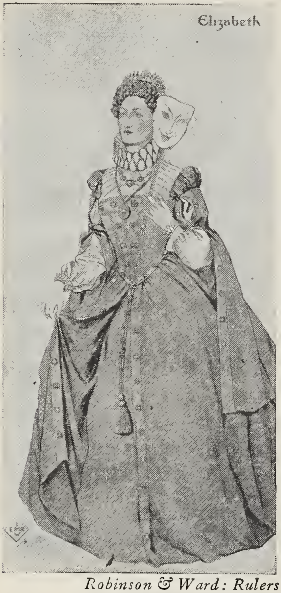
Henry VIII. When Henry VII was succeeded by his more open-hearted son the Tudor monarchy became more positively popular. The young Henry VIII, a good athlete, fond of poetry and music, the friend of scholars and of artists, fine blend of dignity and cordiality, was a singularly attractive ruler. Although in later life his character was warped into hardness and tyranny by an ingrained ruthless selfishness and by the inevitable effect of too much power, he never completely lost his popularity. He made substantial contributions to England's greatness. That future greatness was to be built largely on the naval power which, at the point of writing this book, is the quiet, almost silent, bulwark of the world's freedom. Henry was the founder of the royal navy. Into that task he threw all the ardour of his temperament, visiting the royal dockyards and tasting the joy of invention as he helped to produce ships of a new style, built for rapid action, and equipped to fire broadsides. With all his faults, and at his worst he was a detestable figure, he was no time-server trimming his sails to every wind that blew. He stepped out and led his people.

Starting with his father's strong treasury, Henry did not have to call parliament frequently. He needed parliament for the passing of the measures which made him "the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England" and effected the religious changes of his reign. Parliament passed them gladly because the classes represented in the House of Commons, the gentry and the wealthy merchants, were favourable to them.

Elizabeth. The brief reigns of Edward VI and Mary both created reactions. But with the accession of Elizabeth the popularity of the Tudor despotism was renewed. When she began to rule she was a red-haired girl of twenty-five, well educated, athletic, highly capable. For all her outward passions, glamour and personal vanity, she resembled most strongly her grandfather, Henry VII, in cold, cautious, astuteness. She could win applause with every gesture. Her devotion to the welfare of her people is as unquestionable as her very great ability, her high courage and almost miraculous endurance.

So Elizabeth became not only the beloved leader of her people, but the symbol of an age of adventure and expansion. It was a time of great opportunity for Englishmen. The new capitalism was producing new wealth and for the first time Englishmen were pushing their trade toward the ends of the earth.

Since the trade with Spanish America was blocked by the Spanish policy of monopolizing it for Spaniards and forbidding it to other nations, the Elizabethan "sea-dogs"—Drake, Hawkins and the others—launched themselves on their adventurous careers, some of them acting as armed traders attempting what Spain forbade, and others becoming pirates attacking and looting the Spanish ships. When Philip II's patience, harassed by the sea-dogs, the continuous resistance of the Netherlands (who were receiving unofficial English aid) and the actions of Queen Elizabeth, finally broke down, the great Armada was sent on its mission of invading England. The speedier, quick-manoeuvring smaller English ships, equipped with better guns and manned by superior seamen, decisively defeated the "invincible Armada" in the Channel, and the winds of heaven completed its destruction. The adventurous traders and buccaneers had won, English patriotism and the English navy had crushed the pride of Spain, and the glory of the great stateswoman and actress who was queen of England was greatly enhanced.



Robinson & Ward: Rulers of England (Harrap)
ELIZABETH

With their far-flung trade, the adventure tales of the "sea-dogs" and the defeat of the Armada, Englishmen were in an exuberant mood which was reflected in the great literary achievements of Elizabeth's reign. Although another influence was earlier Renaissance culture, and there can probably be no full historical explanation for genius such as Shakespeare's, Englishmen have always associated that great literature with the Elizabethan spirit of romance and adventure.

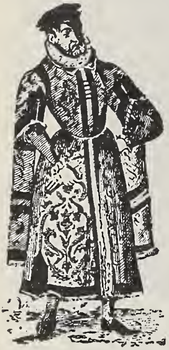
Although the defeat of the Armada increased the popularity of the Queen, its long run effect was to weaken the monarchy and to strengthen parliament. Since the nation felt relatively safe from the menace of Spain, it was safer for parliament to press its claims and for Puritanism to assert its rights. The expense of the war against Spain made the Queen more dependent on the good will of parliament. Elizabeth's practice had been to call parliament only occasionally and for short periods.

Elizabeth was particularly insistent that parliament should not discuss the succession, foreign policy, trade or religion. But among the most significant developments of her reign were the growth of trade and the growth of Puritanism. The commercial middle class, which was powerful in the House of Commons, was keenly interested in both of these, and after the defeat of the Armada it was bound to become more assertive. A strengthened and aggressive Puritanism would have challenged the Tudor despotism in the course of time. But it was on a matter of trade that Elizabeth's last parliament (1601) broke out into turbulent revolt. It had been summoned to vote money but it crashed through the Queen's ban on trade discussion with an attack on the monopolies which she had granted for the manufacture and sale of certain selected articles. Recognizing a determined antagonism such as she had never found in parliament before, Elizabeth gave way in her most queenly manner. She abolished some monopolies and suspended others.

Culver Service

"DRAKE" AT PLYMOUTH

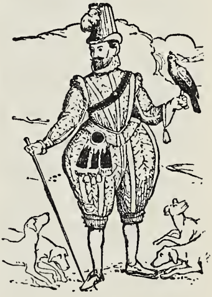
James I. Her successor, James I, faced an awakened parliament without any of Elizabeth's tact or popularity. He was utterly lacking in the dignity appropriate to kingship. Ungainly, slovenly, and conceited, he came to the throne as an outsider from Scotland who understood neither England nor the English. The king who has been called "the wisest fool in Christendom" was more than a scholar choked with too much theory. His analysis of detailed practical situations was frequently shrewd and he could write and speak forcefully. But he was clever without being wise. The principal features in the situation that faced him were the increasing insistence of the commercial middle class, supported by the country gentry (the lower section of the upper class) on a larger voice in government; their insistence that the House of Commons in which they were represented should have fuller powers; and, most important of all, the rising might of Puritanism, strong among the middle class and the gentry. The king was determined to thwart all of these movements and the over-all issue came to be that of absolute monarchy or limited monarchy.



Clement: The Story of Britain (Harrap)
LONDON
MERCHANT

The Issues Introduced. Divine Right of Kings. The doctrine of the divine right of kings was held by all the rulers of this period. It was a conception that had been strong in the ancient world and had been vigorously urged by mediaeval monarchs against the claims of the mediaeval popes in political matters. Elizabeth believed in it but she was too wise to press its claims too strongly. James, who was, as compared with Elizabeth, in such a disadvantageous position, blasted it out in full tones. He said, in a speech to parliament: "The state of monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth, for kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth and sit upon God's thrones, but even by God himself are called gods. They have power to make of their subjects like men at the chess. . . . As to dispute what God may do is blasphemy, so it is sedition in a subject to dispute what a king may do." Certainly parliament was in no mood just then to accept any such conception of kingship.

The King or the Law. Corresponding to James I's conception of divine right monarchy was his conception of the king's relation to the law. James considered that the source of the law lay in the king's will; that he had the power to alter it as he pleased, to create new offences, to make exceptions to the law, to set it aside. Chief Justice Coke asserted that the king could do none of these things; that the king was not above the law but subject to it. And he insisted that parliament alone could make new laws. Again the issue was between absolute monarchy and limited monarchy.



Clement: The Story of Britain (Harrap)

JAMES I

Coke was dismissed from office but the struggle was to be continued until the time came when judges could no longer be arbitrarily dismissed by any government. That is one of the greatest of our bulwarks of freedom today.

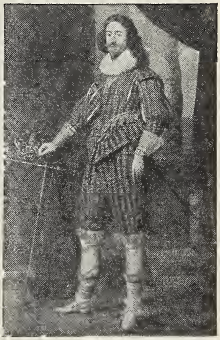
The Claims of Parliament. James I asserted that parliament had no right to discuss his executive government of the country. "The government is my affair. You will not meddle." "I will not allow that my power be disputed on." Parliament, on the other hand, carried its claims farther than it had ever done before. It passed a resolution asserting that its members should have full freedom of speech to discuss any subject related to the welfare of the kingdom. James in his wrath tore the page containing that resolution out of the journals of the House of Commons, dissolved that parliament immediately and arrested seven of its members.

James always regarded the House of Commons as a sort of strange animal. He said to the Spanish ambassador, "I am surprised that my ancestors should ever have permitted such an institution to come into existence. I am a stranger, and found it here when I arrived, so that I am obliged to put up with what I cannot get rid of."

The Taxation Issue. Parliament challenged the king's right to raise taxes that had not been voted by parliament. It was argued that this was unconstitutional. Here again the limitation of royal power was the issue.

The Puritans. Many of those who supported the parliamentary resistance to the king were Puritans. Puritanism had been causing trouble in the later part of Elizabeth's reign and now it was in spirited revolt against the Elizabethan religious settlement. More Englishmen were becoming Puritans and more Puritans were becoming Independents, in separation from the Church of England. James I started his son's most serious trouble when he said of the Puritans: "I will make them conform or I will harry them out of the land." James began the harrying; Charles continued it, only to lose both his crown and the head that had worn it. For in Puritanism there was a force that was stronger than either trade or constitutional theory. It was a fighting faith that revolted everywhere against the control of religion by absolute monarchy. Probably the strongest of all reasons why monarchy in England had to be limited rather than absolute was the growing strength of Puritanism.

Charles I. The dramatic events of the reign of Charles I were the working out of these issues between king and parliament. The quarrel between Charles and parliament began over taxation. Since the king had to have money, particularly on account of his unfortunate military adventures abroad, he resorted to forced loans. In true arbitrary fashion he imprisoned those who refused to lend him money, giving no other explanation than "reasons of state". When, in desperate need of money, he reluctantly called parliament again, it forced his consent to the Petition of Right in which it was declared that any "gift, loan or other tax" was illegal without the consent of parliament and that no one should be imprisoned without just cause being shown. The Petition of Right declared, in relation to other despotic actions of the King, that no man should be kept in prison without cause being shown, and that soldiers and sailors should not be billeted in the house of any person without that person's consent.



The Metropolitan Museum of Art
CHARLES I

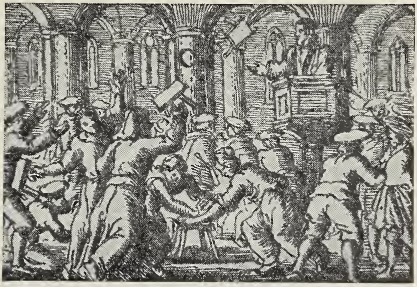
When the king attempted to dissolve that parliament, the House of Commons locked the doors and held the Speaker down in his chair while it passed resolutions. Charles arrested nine of its members and demanded that they apologize for the language in which they had criticized him. Three refused, asserting that the court before which they were tried had no right to hold them to account for words spoken in parliament. To this day no member of parliament is answerable to any court for what he says in parliament. Standing on that right, they were imprisoned. Sir John Eliot, who had been the most outspoken and had in a scathing manner compared Charles to a tyrant of ancient times, contracted consumption in his wretched prison cell but refused to buy freedom and health by submission. "His letters, speeches and actions in the

Tower reveal a spirit of cheerfulness and even of humour, admirable in one who knows that he has chosen to die in prison in the hands of victorious enemies."

In the long period in which he ruled without calling a parliament, Charles resorted to all sorts of devices to raise money and when their legality was questioned, he threatened judges with dismissal if they did not decide in his favour. He also made free use of the Star Chamber court in which the ordinary rules of justice, including the rules of evidence, did not apply.

Laud. Charles had, early in his reign, declared that parliament must not discuss religion, and that he as king would decide all matters of religion for his people. Now Archbishop Laud was ruthlessly trying to suppress all forms of worship except those which he prescribed. At the same time the Laudian clergy were preaching the divine right of kings and the arbitrary conception that the king was the source of law and not the servant of it. Laud's violation of the English love of freedom was sending more and more every day into the ranks of Puritanism and incipient revolt against both the king and Laud. As Professor G. M. Trevelyan has expressed it in an eloquent passage: "That which revealed by fire the hidden treasures of the nation, which called the high-minded into the public ways and the contemplative into the world of action, which made Cromwell a soldier and Milton a pamphleteer, was . . . the . . . struggle of the individual to maintain his own spiritual existence."

Not satisfied with forcing a uniformity of worship on England, Laud felt that he had to impose it on Presbyterian Scotland. The results were the famous riot in St. Giles Church, Edinburgh, and the more famous signing of the Covenant. Throughout the land of the Scots in every town and country-side men signed that covenant with God to defend their faith, strong men with tears rolling down their cheeks and their hands raised to heaven. Some cut their arms and signed the covenant with their own blood. The Assembly of the Kirk re-established Presbyterianism in defiance of the king and when he made a move to make war against the "rebels" they proceeded to invade England. In desperation Charles summoned parliament to get money for his war against the Scots. That was the Short Parliament; it would vote no money for that purpose and was promptly dissolved. Before that year, 1640, was over the parliament that was to be the Long Parliament was summoned to get money to buy the Scots out of England.



Strong: Today Through Yesterday
(University of London Press)

RIOT IN ST. GILES CHURCH

Strafford. By that time Charles had found his strong man in Strafford. In their fear of Strafford's ability, realizing that they could not impeach him successfully, the members of parliament simply passed an "act of attainder" which sentenced him to death without a trial, as much an act of tyranny as anything that can be found in the whole period. It is only one reminder to us that in this struggle for power all the tyranny was not on one side or all the liberty on the other.

Pym. Parliament under Pym's leadership struck a good blow for freedom in abolishing the special courts such as the Star Chamber. And in the declaration of the Grand Remonstrance that ministers should be "such as the parliament can have cause to confide in" they caught a glimpse, a very distant one, of the thing that would make government by parliament work, a cabinet of ministers responsible to and controlled by a parliamentary majority. That faint suggestion is the only appearance of such an idea in the period and that solution—which we call responsible government—lay some distance in the future.

Pym and his party had already abolished bishops and, riding their new power hard, were about to establish a Puritan state-church governed not by bishops, but by lay commissioners appointed by parliament. Such a church would have practiced Laud's tyranny in another form. The question whether King Charles or King Pym should control religion led straight to the Civil War, although the immediate occasion for its outbreak was the attempt of the king to arrest five leading members of that parliament who made a dramatic escape. The larger issues of divine-right monarchy, taxation, the king and the law, and in general parliamentary government were all involved in the struggle.

The Civil Wars. The great bulk of the nation stood aloof, with luke-warm sympathies for the one side or the other. The agricultural labourers, who constituted most of the workingmen of England at the time, took no part and very little interest. And although the townsmen provided the parliamentary side with most of its men and money, and small freehold farmers proved to be good soldiers, it was not a class war in the ordinary sense. Both the aristocracy and the gentry were divided, and the sons of many families fought against one another, in spite of the fact that the aristocracy provided Charles with most of his leadership and the leaders of the parliamentary forces came largely from the gentry. The real turn of the tide in the first Civil War was Cromwell's formation of his New Model Army. The economic power of the merchants was also an important factor. If the king had won, parliamentary government would have been submerged and England could not have led the world along the paths of freedom.

So much for the ultimate result. The immediate result of the first Civil War was to throw power into the hands of a parliament pledged because of Scottish aid to make Presbyterianism the official religion of England. It confiscated a large part of the property of its enemies, prohibited the Anglican service, expelled two thousand Anglican clergymen from their livings, condemned Laud to death without a decent trial, imposed Presbyterianism on England, and introduced bills imposing the death penalty on Unitarians and life imprisonment on Baptists. To cap all of that, they refused to give the soldiers their arrears of pay and ordered the army to disband. But the fighting strength of the army consisted by this time of Congregationalists, Baptists and other sectaries, who were now to be persecuted. Naturally the army refused to be disbanded and took its turn at tyranny. The first move was to capture the king from parliament by main force. Then the army seized the city of London and expelled eleven members of parliament. It was in those very months that the army took to political discussion and the soldiers sought to apply principles of democracy to the national government, as will be indicated in a later chapter in discussing political theory.

The majority of Englishmen did not agree with the soldiers and they could get their way only by the worst of all tyrannies, that of armed might. Cromwell and the generals tried hard to keep within the law and to effect a reasonable compromise with the king. But Charles, after playing fast and loose with everybody, started the Second Civil War by attempting to rally royalists, parliament and the Scots against the army. Cromwell and his officers held a prayer-meeting which solemnly resolved to "call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for the blood which he had shed." The Second Civil War ensued. The army triumphed over king and parliament. Colonel Pride and his soldiers stood at the doors of the House of Commons and excluded a hundred and forty members. Those who remained, intimidated by the army, tried the king and condemned him to death.

At his trial Charles said: "The king cannot be tried by any superior jurisdiction on earth." In a speech on the scaffold he said that the people's happiness did not depend on their sharing in the government, "subject and sovereign being clean different". That was still for him the issue—the royal absolutism. And to men like Cromwell there was only one way to settle that issue; the king must be put out of the way, and putting him to death was the only safe means of doing so. There is a story to the effect that as the king's body lay in Whitehall, those on guard saw a man enter with his face hidden in his cloak, saw him stand by the body, and heard him say, "Cruel necessity." They believed that it was Cromwell. Although the king was put to death as a punishment for causing two civil wars, that cloaked figure, whoever he was, saw more deeply into the real significance of the execution of an anointed king. Whenever absolutism threatened England again throughout the years, the scene enacted on the scaffold outside Whitehall could not be forgotten.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Dates for time chart under "England", in addition to those in text: 1588—Defeat of Armada; 1603—Accession of James I; 1642—Beginning of Civil War; 1649—Execution of Charles I.

2. Relate the defeat of the Armada to (*a*) the expansion of British trade; (*b*) the revolt of the Netherlands.

3. How is our life today affected by the issues of the reigns of James I and Charles I? Illustrate your answer by reference to our homes, our courts, our payment of taxes, the debates in the House of Commons in Ottawa, our worship in church.

CHAPTER VI

THE REVOLT AGAINST ABSOLUTISM IN ENGLAND. II.

Commonwealth and Protectorate. What was left of the Long Parliament proceeded to abolish monarchy and the House of Lords and to establish a republic which they called the Commonwealth. But that parliament was woefully incompetent and corrupt.

The members of this remnant of the Long Parliament introduced a bill declaring an election but giving all of themselves seats without the necessity of re-election. They reserved to themselves the right to pass on the eligibility of all voters and all persons elected to fill the vacancies. Cromwell remonstrated with them and they promised to reconsider, pending negotiations. Then he heard that they were rushing the bill through.

This account of what followed is quoted from Firth's biography of Cromwell: "He hurried down to the House, dressed as he was, not like a general, but like an ordinary citizen. . . . For a quarter of an hour he sat still, listening to the debate until the Speaker was about to put the question whether the bill should pass. Cromwell turned to Major-General Harrison, whispered "This is the time I must do it," and rising in his place, put off his hat and addressed the House. . . . As his passion grew he put his hat on his head, strode up and down the floor of the House, and, looking first at one, then at another, chid them soundly. . . . These were corrupt, those scandalous in their lives, that man fraudulent, that an unjust judge. . . . 'Call them in,' he cried, turning to Harrison, and at the word Harrison went out and brought back twenty or thirty musketeers of Cromwell's own regiment from the lobby. Only a show of force was needed. Cromwell pointed to the Speaker in his chair, and said to Harrison, 'Fetch him down'. . . . Then, looking scornfully at the mace on the table, Cromwell exclaimed, 'What shall we do with this bauble?' and calling a soldier said 'Here, take it away.' After the mace and the Speaker were gone, all the members left the House. As they went out, Cromwell turned to them and cried, 'It is you that have forced me to this, for I have sought the Lord night and day that He would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work.' . . . He ordered the doors to be locked and went away."[1]

A country gentleman who had been a good citizen in his own neighbourhood and had been elected to parliament, Oliver Cromwell had discovered within himself unexpected powers as a statesman and a soldier. He had risen rapidly in the parliamentary army, had organized the "New Model" army, and had been the hero of the great victories of the civil wars. He had hoped that the monarchy could be preserved, had tried hard to prevent the Second Civil War, and had sought, almost to the end, to save the king's life.

Hard as flint on occasion, he was kindly and frequently jovial. He was hot-tempered, but genial and friendly, strong in his language, but moderate in his aims, direct in speech and action but constantly troubled about the right course. He was a Puritan but not a sour one. He enjoyed a pipe and a jest, and when some of his friends were shocked that there was dancing at his daughter's wedding he paid no attention to them.

No one can understand Cromwell who does not understand his religion. He continually examined his conscience before God to be sure that he was not confusing it with something else. His decisions were achieved slowly after much prayer. He spent hours in prayer before a battle, and went into the fight with a scripture text on his lips.

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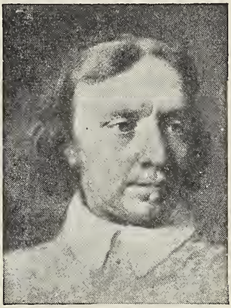
[1] FIRTH, C. H.: *Oliver Cromwell* (G. P. Putnam's Sons).

Attached as he was in theory to both monarchy and parliament, it was Cromwell's fate to be the primary agent in the setting aside of both. On the day he dismissed the Long Parliament Cromwell was a dictator with nothing but a sword in his hand. And he hated the idea of government by force. During the rest of his life he was engaged in a futile struggle to secure legal authority for a stable government which could rule England satisfactorily without bringing the Stuarts back to the throne. With all his heart he desired—in this order probably—freedom of conscience, the unity of the English (and beyond that the union of Great Britain and Ireland), parliamentary government, and a democracy (limited to those who owned some property) such as England had never had nor was to have until well on in the nineteenth century. But none of those things were possible under the conditions which prevailed. Cromwell dared not hold a free parliamentary election, even on the old restricted franchise, because it would mean a Stuart restoration and the destruction of religious freedom for the Puritans.



Historical Portraits (Clarendon Press)

CROMWELL

Cromwell experimented unsuccessfully with a parliament chosen by an army council from a list nominated by Independent ministers. Then a group of army officers invited him to become Lord Protector and in that office he tried to rule with a parliament elected on a fairly high property franchise with all who had fought for Charles I excluded from voting. When that parliament proved incompetent, he dismissed it. After that England was divided into districts over each of which was a major-general. These Puritan army officers not only performed ordinary governmental functions in a fairly tyrannical fashion; they imposed severe moral discipline upon the people and were thoroughly disliked.

We need not review all of Cromwell's conscientious experiments. There was only one answer to his puzzled question: "I am as much for government by consent as any man, but where shall we find that consent?" The inevitable restoration of the Stuarts speedily followed his death. But it must be borne in mind that Cromwell placed Noncomformity in a position in which it could not be broken by any passing wave of persecution and saved that Puritanism whose high sense of duty and insistence upon rigid standards of conduct had a permanent influence on English life. His dream of religious liberty did not perish. The bold and gifted leadership which he gave to the determination to end royal absolutism in England made it impossible for it ever to raise its head successfully again. Charles II did not attempt it and when James II made the effort it was so much easier to suppress it because Cromwell had fought and prayed and struggled.

While the emphasis in this chapter is necessarily on political forces, the social revolt against Puritanism must be noted as an influence making in the direction of the Restoration. In addition to their measures against cock-fighting, bear-baiting and gambling, the major-generals set out to enforce in the most rigorous manner laws against theatres, profanity, drunkenness, horse-racing, and the frivolous celebration of Christmas day. As for swearing, it cost a duke or duchess thirty shillings, a baron or his wife twenty shillings, a squire or his wife ten shillings and ordinary persons only three shillings and four pence. The last amount however would buy much more than it does today and would be nearly fifteen dollars in our values. One man at least paid that for saying "Upon my life." And that scale was doubled the second time a man or woman swore—if caught. On Christmas morning soldiers went prowling around and into people's houses to see that no meat was being cooked.

Charles II. The restoration of the monarchy under Charles II which followed so shortly on the death of Cromwell, was accompanied by another restoration, that of full parliamentary government. The restored monarchy was limited by the rights which parliament had won for itself. The king's collection of taxes without the consent of parliament, and the special courts which thwarted the ordinary law of the land were gone forever. That did not suit the secret mind of Charles II but he gave way to it. His primary consideration was that he had no desire "to go on his travels again."

Anglicanism also was restored from its suppressed position under Cromwell to that of the dominant religion, which in the series of laws called the Clarendon Code persecuted the Puritanism against which the people of England had turned, refusing to Puritans, as well as to Catholics, both freedom of worship and the right to hold office. The most important permanent result of the Clarendon Code was that the Puritans among the aristocracy and gentry became Anglicans, while those of the middle and lower classes remained Nonconformists.

An important development of the reign of Charles II was the rise of the two great parties, Tories and Whigs. The Tories favoured the high church and Whigs showed more sympathy with Puritans. The Tories became the supporters of the king's powers, which the Whigs sought to control. From that day to this we have had a continuation of party politics in one form or other. The struggle between parties in parliament has kept the people of the country informed about the principal problems of government and has brought them before the public mind especially in the excitement of elections. Whatever may be said of its evils, it is the party system that has made parliamentary government successful.

James II. James II went ahead with the policy which had been abandoned by Charles II. At the instigation of French and Jesuit advisers he sought to establish in England an absolutism similar to that which prevailed on the continent and to utilize it to make Catholicism supreme in England. In defiance of law he appointed Catholics to office and since the Monmouth rebellion had provided the excuse for a good-sized army, he had a large part of it encamped on Hounslow Heath to over-awe the city of London. Catholic officers and soldiers were brought over from Ireland. Those in the army who attempted to mutiny or desert were hanged. But the back-bone of English Catholicism, including the Catholic gentry, was opposed to this policy as was also the pope. All that they desired was that they should enjoy toleration and the free exercise of their religion.

James who had already claimed the power to "dispense with" the law, that is, make exceptions to its operation, in appointing Catholics to office, made a bid to gain the support of the persecuted Dissenters by issuing a Declaration of Indulgence suspending all of the laws against both Catholics and Dissenters. The Dissenters refused to give their support to an arbitrary king.

This "battle of Britain" in which Englishmen were struggling against a pattern of government that had been imposed upon Europe, again took dramatic form when James issued his second Declaration of Indulgence and ordered that it should be read in all the churches. When seven of the bishops petitioned the king in protest against his action he had a charge of sedition laid against them. The bishops went to their trial through cheering crowds of people. From Cornwall a miners' song spread through the country, centred on Trelawney, Bishop of Bristol:

"And have they fixed the where and when? And shall Trelawney die?
Here's thirty thousand Cornish men will know the reason why!"

Before the trial was over, the birth of a son to James II made the situation more tense because the people could no longer find relief in the thought of his being succeeded by his Protestant daughter, Mary. When a London jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty" in favour of the seven bishops, the joy of the crowd spread from the court-room to the streets where wild scenes of celebration lasted all day and far into the night. The soldiers on Hounslow Heath joined in the cheering. In thousands of English homes that night high carnival was held and seven candles burned in the window. Bonfires answered one another across the countryside. And in a room in London seven men, representative Tory and Whig leaders, prepared an invitation to William of Orange, ruler of the Netherlands and husband of James's daughter, Mary, to come to England with an army and take over with his wife the sovereignty of the country.

The Revolution Settlement. In the bloodless revolution that followed James fled to the continent. The "convention" which was then elected was not a legal parliament since it was not summoned by a king. It declared that William and Mary should be the rulers of England, after they had signed a Declaration of Rights which it drew up and which later became the Bill of Rights and part of the law of the land. William and Mary subscribed to the Declaration of Rights in that very banquet hall from a window of which Charles I had stepped out to a scaffold. There was to be no more divine right monarchy in England, no more absolutism and no more scaffolds for kings.

The Bill of Rights put an end permanently to absolutism in England. Nearly every clause in it recalls some dramatic incident in the long struggle. It declared that "the pretended power of suspending of laws" and "the pretended power of dispensing of laws" were illegal, that it was the right of subjects to petition the king and that they could not be prosecuted for doing so. That recalls the trial of the seven bishops and "Shall Trelawney die?" It declared that it was illegal to raise or keep "a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of parliament." That recalls James II's army on Hounslow Heath. It declared that the king might not raise money without the consent of parliament. That recalls the efforts of James I and Charles I. It declared that there shall be freedom of speech in parliament. That recalls Sir John Eliot dying in prison because he preferred to die rather than that there should not be freedom of speech in parliament. It declared that no Catholic or any one married to a Catholic should occupy the English throne. That recalls the heated opposition to the efforts of James II to make England Catholic. And it declared the right of parliament to decide who should be king or queen of England. Parliament later passed an Act of Settlement (in 1701), declaring the order of succession.

The great struggle had ended in compromise, which is the English way. The king was left with considerable power, but it was strictly limited monarchy. Parliament was left with more power really than the king. Gradually in later years, limited monarchy developed into complete parliamentary government.

In religion too, there was compromise. There was a feeling that the time had come for a large measure of toleration. And William III, the great-grandson of the first William of Orange, insisted on it. But it was not complete toleration. The Toleration Act of 1689 secured freedom of worship to all Christians except Catholics and Unitarians. In practice, however, the laws against Catholics and Unitarians were not strictly enforced. Although office-holding was still limited by the Test and Corporation Acts to those who took the sacrament according to the Church of England, before long everybody winked at Nonconformists qualifying for office by taking the sacrament "occasionally" in the Church of England. Catholics could not hold office until 1829.

Parliament also passed legislation requiring nearly all grants of money to be passed annually and made discipline in the army dependent upon the passing of an annual mutiny act. This made it necessary that parliament should meet every year, as it has since 1688. The Triennial Act of 1694 declared that no parliament should last more than three years. (It was later changed to seven years and then to five.) The following year 1695 saw the end of the censorship of the press (in times of peace). The Act of Settlement of 1701 declared that judges should continue to hold office during good conduct and could be removed only by motion of both houses of parliament for cause assigned. That has happened very rarely. Judges in all British countries are consequently independent of action by the government and independent of politics generally.

There was no democracy, government by all the people, in this, for parliament was elected by a very few and really controlled by fewer still. But the subjection of the ruler to law, the establishment of parliamentary government, the financial supremacy of the House of Commons, freedom of speech in parliament, the beginnings of freedom of the press, a large measure of religious toleration, the fixing of the length of a parliament, the rule that parliament shall meet once a year, and the independence of judges were all ready to give strength to democracy when it did come, and are still among the main bulwarks of our liberty. We should cherish them more when we realize the long hard struggle out of which they came. And we should take pride in the fact that much of this hard-won liberty passed in time from Britain to other nations.

Development of Cabinet Government. During the reign of William and Mary and that of Anne the royal power maintained itself fairly well, within the narrower limits set by the Bill of Rights and the other measures of the Revolution Settlement. For centuries the kings of England had had their councils of advisers. That council changed its character gradually and a small group called the cabinet came to take over its powers. William and Anne continued to preside over the meetings of the cabinet and to control the policies of the government. Under the first two Hanoverian monarchs, George I and George II, most of the king's powers came to be exercised by ministers. These two German rulers were interested very little in English affairs and in fact George I could not speak English. The king did not sit in his council and that did much to create the office of the Prime Minister who presided over the cabinet of ministers. These ministers sat in parliament and to a large extent directed its business. There was no recognized rule, such as there is today, that the cabinet could remain in power only so long as it was supported by a majority in the House of Commons, but cabinets found it convenient to enjoy that support. A relatively small number of men, mostly members of the aristocracy, controlled most of the seats in the House of Commons. The character of that "unreformed parliament" up to the Reform Bill of 1832 will be described in a later chapter.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Dates for time chart in addition to those given in the text: 1660—Restoration; 1688—Revolution; 1714—Accession of George I.
2. How are our lives today affected by the various aspects of the Revolution Settlement?

CHAPTER VII

Absolutism in Continental Europe

Growth of Absolutism in France. In France the royal power emerged from the Hundred Years' War in a strong position. (See New and Phillips, pages 482-3). That power was increased by the able rulers of the later part of the fifteenth century, and Francis I who became king in 1515 was practically an absolute monarch. The Roman conception of monarchy ("What is pleasing to the ruler has the force of law") held sway. Francis used such expressions as: "I am the king, it is my will to be obeyed." "Since such is our pleasure." But the long civil wars of the sixteenth century, although they were sincere religious conflicts between Catholics and Protestants, were also struggles for power between ambitious nobles at a time when the kings were weak men. When those wars came to an end in 1598, five years before James I became king of England, Henry IV, the famous "Henry of Navarre", restored the royal power, and proceeded to give France strong government and prosperity after the ravages of war.

There remained three potential obstacles to royal absolutism: the old nobility; a sort of new nobility, called "the nobility of the robe" (the official robe) composed of officials and judges who had bought their offices and made them hereditary; and the Protestants. The Edict of Nantes (1598) gave the Protestants a large measure of liberty of worship and freedom to play their part as citizens; it also gave them certain cities which enjoyed rights of self-government and of maintaining military garrisons and which joined in a sort of federation that constituted what many regarded as "a kingdom within a kingdom". Henry IV himself controlled all of these, nobility, nobility of the robe and Protestants, but he did little to provide against their becoming a danger to the royal power in the future.

Under Henry IV's successor, Louis XIII, a powerful minister, Cardinal Richelieu, made himself the absolute ruler of France. It was said that every week saw the hatching of a new plot to remove him but he crushed his enemies ruthlessly, trying them in a special court of his own, executing some and exiling others. At the same time he waged wars to make the king of France supreme in Europe. It was said of him that he made Louis XIII "the first man in Europe and the second man in France." But he did everything in the name of the king and he believed profoundly in the divine right of kings. He said that "kings are the living images of the divinity" and that just as every one owed allegiance to God he owed immediate and unqualified obedience to the royal government. He would not permit any criticism of that government. Even to suggest that it might be mistaken was not only treason, it was sacrilege. He set himself to crush the three potential obstacles, the nobility, the nobility of the robe and the special political power of the Protestants. He made a thorough job of it, except in the case of the nobility of the robe whom he forced to do his bidding, but whose power was eclipsed rather than destroyed. And he completely destroyed the self-government of the Protestant cities after a considerable amount of hard fighting. He was succeeded as chief minister by Cardinal Mazarin, who during the minority and early manhood of Louis XIV, crushed a revolt called the Fronde in which both nobles and the nobility of the robe played a part. The Fronde represented the last dying shudders, politically, of the nobility. So the great drama of the *Grand Monarque* was prepared—plot, script and properties.

It remained for Louis XIV to set the stage and play his perfect role as the Sun King.

Absolutism under Louis XIV. As a child of less than five years old, Louis XIV became king of France. The idea that controlled his mind was that of his importance as the divinely appointed absolute ruler of France. He was twenty-two years old when Mazarin lay on his death-bed. Louis slept in the bedroom next to the Cardinal's. When he got an affirmative answer to the question "Is he dead?" he put on his clothes, summoned a meeting of his ministers and secretaries and made a speech: "Henceforth I shall be my own chief minister. You will assist me with your advice when I call for it. Your instructions are to seal nothing without my orders and to sign nothing without my consent." That was in March 1661. His reign continued until 1715, while Charles II, James II, William and Mary, and Anne were ruling in England (and George I for one year).

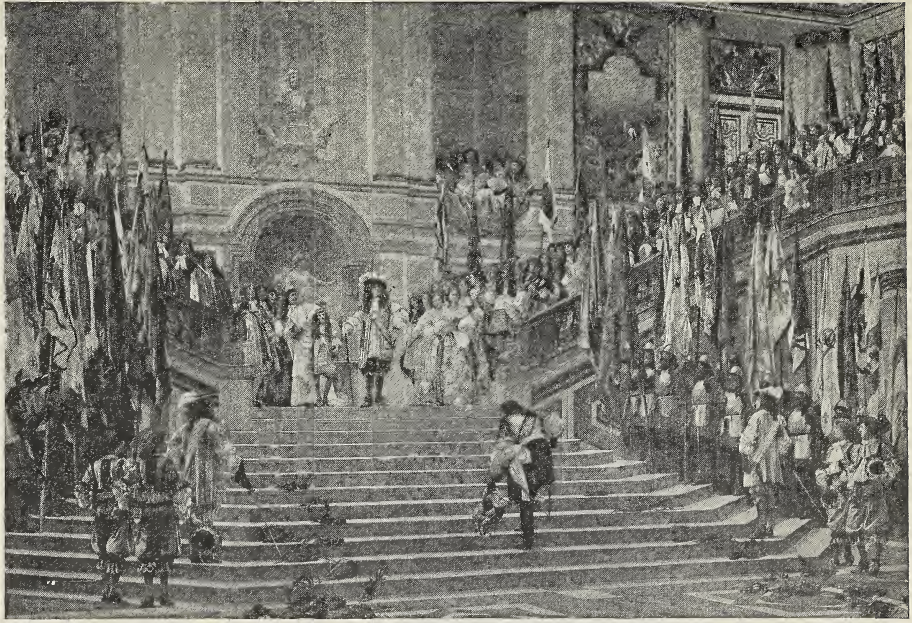
Louis XIV probably never used the words ascribed to him, "L'Etat, c'est moi." But the phrase represents accurately his conception of government. His will was law throughout the realm. He would give no place in government to the old nobility. As for the nobility of the robe, he used them but they were completely subservient to him. There was no vestige of representative government. The last meeting of the Estates-General, the analogue of parliament, had taken place when Richelieu had begun to govern France and any thought of summoning it was the farthest thing from Louis's mind. All government was centralized under the king. There was no such thing as a real municipal election. The intendant, the king's chief representative in each district, named the candidates; they were duly elected, and carried out the royal commands. The king appointed and dismissed judges at will, added to and subtracted from their sentences when it pleased him to do so, or set them aside altogether. He condemned men without trial.

Able men are usually unwilling to serve a government conducted in that manner and few men give it the best work of which they are capable. So Louis's government was magnificent but inefficient. In Colbert he had one minister of outstanding ability. Colbert managed to stimulate colonization, bring more order into the public accounts and arrange the laws of France in a more systematic form. But he could not dissuade Louis from building the palace of Versailles, could not curb his extravagance, or prevent his disastrous foreign wars. The only man of those who served Louis who had the seeds of greatness in him, he died discouraged, and abandoned by both ruler and people.

The absolute monarch tried to impose his tastes on artists and poets. He believed that he could regiment culture as he did everything else. He did not kill it because it was too vigorous. But it is doubtful if he helped it a great deal. His reign would have been a brilliant one intellectually in any case.

Louis's absolutism extended to religion. He controlled the clergy and they were submissive to him and, in our judgment, servile. But they were sincere enough in preaching the divine right of kings as forcefully and eloquently as it has ever been preached. One of them said: "Royal authority is absolute. The king should render an account to no one for what he prescribes. Kings are gods, according to the language of the scriptures. . . . To speak against the king is a cause worthy of the greatest punishment, and this crime is treated as almost equal to that of blasphemy against God."

He had no love for the papacy, with which he frequently quarreled, and no real love for the Catholic Church. But religion must be *united* in his realm and to be heretical was to be disloyal. From a Catholic point of view the Protestants



Culver Service

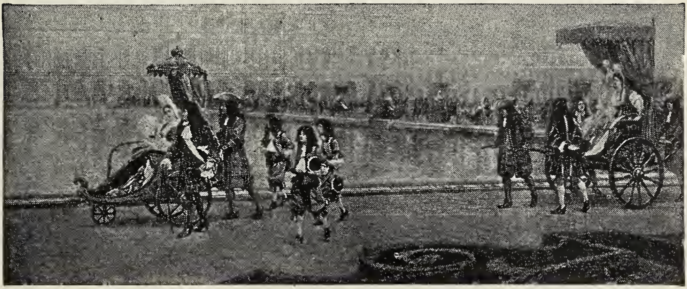
LOUIS XIV RECEIVING "THE GREAT CONDÉ" AT VERSAILLES
Condé was one of the ablest of French generals.

were heretics. Their religion differed from that which the king formally acknowledged, and he was persuaded to persecute them cruelly and ultimately to revoke the Edict of Nantes and thus deprive them of all their religious liberty. The result was that two hundred thousand of them left France, many of them among the best business men, workmen and farmers in the realm. They carried their skill to England, Prussia, Holland and America, the very countries which were to be the rivals of France in later years. But Protestantism in France was not destroyed, although it was driven to secret worship.

It was inevitable that such a ruler should endeavour to extend his glory beyond the existing borders of France. His wars were long and costly. He sought to undermine the rival power of the Hapsburgs. He was particularly ambitious to extend his territory to the Rhine which he considered a "natural" frontier. But he failed to impose his will on Europe as he did on France, largely because of the ability and perseverance of the younger William of Orange, who became William III of England, and the Duke of Marlborough, ancestor of Winston Churchill.

The Cult of the Sun King. Louis XIV was not satisfied with preventing the nobles from exercising any political power. He wished to have them, when they were not fighting his wars for him, living near him, dancing attendance on him at court, adding to his glory and dependent largely on his bounty. That would not have been easy in Paris. He built a costly palace at Versailles, with beautiful gardens on one side of it and on the other a town in which the nobles were to live. In the effort to create magnificence and beauty at Versailles money was spent lavishly. And everything was designed to show off the glory of the king. Louis was enamoured of the symbol of the sun to represent his position in France—the sun, with its life-giving power, the source of light, beauty and warmth, the centre around which all things move. At Versailles the proudest nobles of France were to revolve as satellites around the Sun King.

The rising of the Sun King in the morning, the *Lever*, was an elaborate ceremony. All the most prominent nobles must be at hand punctually at eight o'clock. They were divided into five groups called "entries", according to their rank and the king's favour. The first group entered the sacred bedroom while the king was still in bed. The great honour of handing the king his slippers was enjoyed by a duke. His shirt was taken out of a white silk envelope and presented to him by a prince of the royal family. Then three great nobles helped him into it. And so the rising of the Sun King proceeded.



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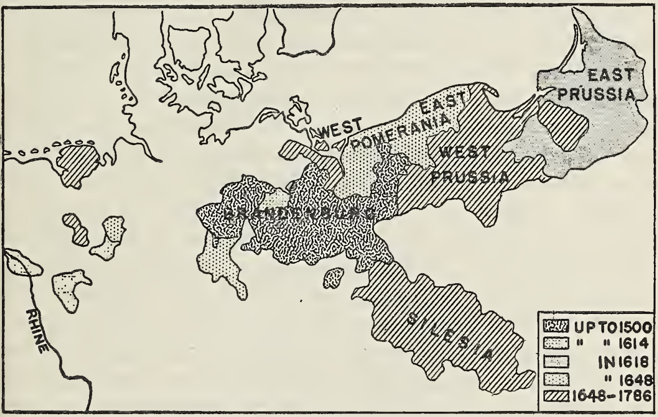
AN AFTERNOON PROMENADE AT VERSAILLES

Most of his mornings were devoted to matters of government. After dinner the king went hunting or for a drive in his carriage and the many who were privileged to do so went with him. Between mid-afternoon and ten o'clock in the evening the king again consulted with his ministers and in general looked after matters of state. Supper was followed by dancing, cards, music or a play by one of the great dramatists of the period. So went the ceremonial of each day with great punctuality when the king was at Versailles. But sometimes he went on a journey. Then the court went with him, and the Sun King was accompanied by thousands of courtiers and servants streaming behind him.

Louis, who was endowed with great physical strength and endurance, went through that program—which included six to nine hours of hard work each day—with enjoyment. He acted his part naturally. Every gesture was the right gesture. He was a good speaker and a good listener. His perfect tact sprang from a real kindliness and consideration. Every one could count on generous treatment—so long as they played the game. The king would grant no honour, no appointment, no emolument to any nobles who did not live at Versailles. "I do not know them" or "They are persons I never see". So the nobles who could not afford it and remained at home sank into comparative poverty. Consequently the only nobles who retained any importance lost touch entirely with the peasants who lived and worked on their estates.

Louis's Last Days. The costly wars of the Sun King, the extravagance of Versailles, and incompetent government brought what should have been a prosperous France to a more and more miserable condition. The people became poorer and poorer. Occasionally some peasants revolted and then, as one great man of the court said, there was "lots of hanging". The time for the great revolt had not yet come. But Louis was not entirely blind. As he lay dying some of his pride evaporated, and he said to his great-grandson who was to succeed him: "My child, you are going to be a great king. Do not imitate me in my taste for building, nor in my love of war. Strive on the contrary to live at peace with your neighbours and to comfort your people, which I unfortunately have not been able to do."

The Model for Europe. Every court in central Europe and every little court in the many German states modelled themselves in some measure on Versailles and rulers everywhere were copying Louis XIV. At the same time the French language, French names and something of the French spirit travelled everywhere in Europe. The really great French culture was admired and inspired effort throughout the continent. France became more than ever the intellectual leader of Europe.


EAST PRUSSIA
EAST
WEST
POMERANIA
WEST PRUSSIA
BRANDENBURG
SILESIA
RHINE
UP TO 1500
" " 1614
IN 1618
" 1648
1648–1786

THE EXPANSION OF PRUSSIA

The Rise of Prussia. Beginnings. In the Middle Ages among the furthest east of the German states there were several territories called "marks" (meaning frontier lands). These were outpost states protecting the German peoples against invasion from the east. One of them was the Mark of Brandenburg, in which Berlin occupied a fairly central position. At the beginning of our period in 1500 the Hohenzollern family, ancestors of the late William II, emperor of Germany during the first world war of the twentieth century, were already the rulers (called electors) of Brandenburg. A younger branch of that family gained possession, during the Reformation period, of the eastern part of a country on the Baltic called Prussia. Nearly a century later, in 1614, the Brandenburg Hohenzollerns acquired three small territories in the western German lands, on the Rhine and east of it. In 1618 the younger branch of the family died out and East Prussia went to the Hohenzollern rulers of Brandenburg. A new scattered state was in the making, but it was not yet called Prussia. It was still the electorate of Brandenburg.

The Great Elector (1640-1688). Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, has been called the Great Elector, on account of his remarkable achievements. At the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648, by skilful diplomacy he added to his possessions Eastern Pomerania on the Baltic, and other small scattered territories. In Brandenburg there was a sort of parliament called the diet, but the Great Elector first collected taxes without its consent and then stopped calling it. Questions that were being raised in Stuart England, like taxation without the consent of parliament, and the raising of a standing army without consulting it, the Great Elector settled in short order. The state that he was building was to know nothing of real parliamentary government until the twentieth century and then only for a short time. Although Brandenburg was very backward culturally, the influence of French culture, which was so strong throughout Europe, was evident at the court, where the electress spoke French so well that a French refugee asked her if she could also speak German. The Great Elector established the first standing army in Europe, its strength half of what would be required in war, well disciplined and well trained. He also did wonders with the land on which his power rested. Much of Brandenburg with large stretches of sand and marshes was anything but promising country. Knowing what the Dutch had done in their country, the elector encouraged immigration from

Holland, and these immigrants taught his people how to reclaim land, build canals and lay the basis of a successful agriculture. A great deal was done to develop industry by Protestant refugees from French persecution preceding and associated with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The First King of Prussia. The Great Elector's son, the *Elector* Frederick III of Brandenburg, became *King* Frederick I of Prussia in 1701. The change in title was closely connected with Frederick's love of magnificence and display. He built a luxurious palace whose rooms and gardens were modelled on those of Versailles. As his wife lay dying, one of her ladies-in-waiting said that Frederick would be inconsolable. "Oh," she replied, "he will be diverted by the magnificent funeral which he will provide for me. If nothing goes amiss in the ceremony, it will console him for everything." Only the Holy Roman Emperor could make Frederick a king, and he promised to do so in return for the loan of soldiers in a war. The new title gave the Hohenzollerns a larger place in Europe and helped to give unity to their scattered possessions.

Frederick William I (1713-1740). When this first king of Prussia died, his son, Frederick William, gave him the funeral he would have liked to have, and then drove straight to the palace, asked for the account books, abolished offices, cut down expenses and planned the most rigid system of economy, in a state in which everything and everybody must serve one purpose, the creation of as powerful an army as could be built. And so this wiry energetic ruler proceeded to make Prussia a military state. His most recent biographer has said of him: "Frederick William converted all Prussia into a vast military organization and applied the whole intelligence of the nation either directly or indirectly to military affairs. More Prussian soldiers! Better Prussian soldiers! This was the goal of most of his policies. To this end he geared industry, commerce, taxation, and agriculture—in fact almost every phase of national life. So completely did he center the interests of the Prussian state in the army that contemporaries were wont to say: 'Prussia is not a State which possesses an army, but an army which possesses a State. . . .' In brief, he cast the whole Prussian nation into a military mold, fixing on his subjects military habits which have continued to characterize Prusso-Germans to this day."[1] As Louis XIV desired all his nobles to live at Versailles, Frederick William desired all his nobles to serve as officers in the army. At the same time he sought to get rid of all officers who were not nobles. He started a youth movement among the nobility to throw into military training boys of twelve and of the "teen" ages. These officer nobles were to constitute a superior social caste. So the Prussian "Junkers" came into being.

Next to his insistence on a strong army was his conviction that he could effect his purposes only through absolutism. He also saw clearly that the best way to build a despotism was to develop an elaborate bureaucracy. His conception of absolutism was expressed in characteristic phrases: "We are king and master and can do what we will." "I need render account to no one as to the manner in which I conduct my affairs." "Salvation belongs to God and everything else is my affair."

Frederick William spoke of himself as "the first servant of the state." The individual must always be sacrificed to the state and to it even the king must sacrifice his comfort and his time. The state was thus an abstraction which stood in the place of God. He was up to work at five in the morning and he insisted on everybody else working. If a minister was late getting to his office he was fined a hundred ducats, if he missed a day without excuse, half a year's salary. Frederick William carried a good stout stick and he used it on those whom he found idling. The women who sold apples must knit when there were no customers. The king walked up and down their stalls inspecting them as he inspected his soldiers, and if he caught any woman neither selling nor knitting, he brought his stick crashing down on her shoulders.

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[1] ERGANG, R. R.: *The Potsdam Führer* (Columbia University Press).

He was constantly making marginal notes on documents, insisting on economy. As for himself, the king had only one extravagance. He collected a number of tall soldiers into a regiment, the famous Potsdam Giants, and he was willing to pay large sums of money to obtain very tall recruits for it. He was constantly reviewing these giants. On one occasion, when he was ill, he had two hundred of them march past his bed, and immediately he felt better. He excused to himself this one lapse from economy because this regiment was a symbol of the primary importance of good soldiers.

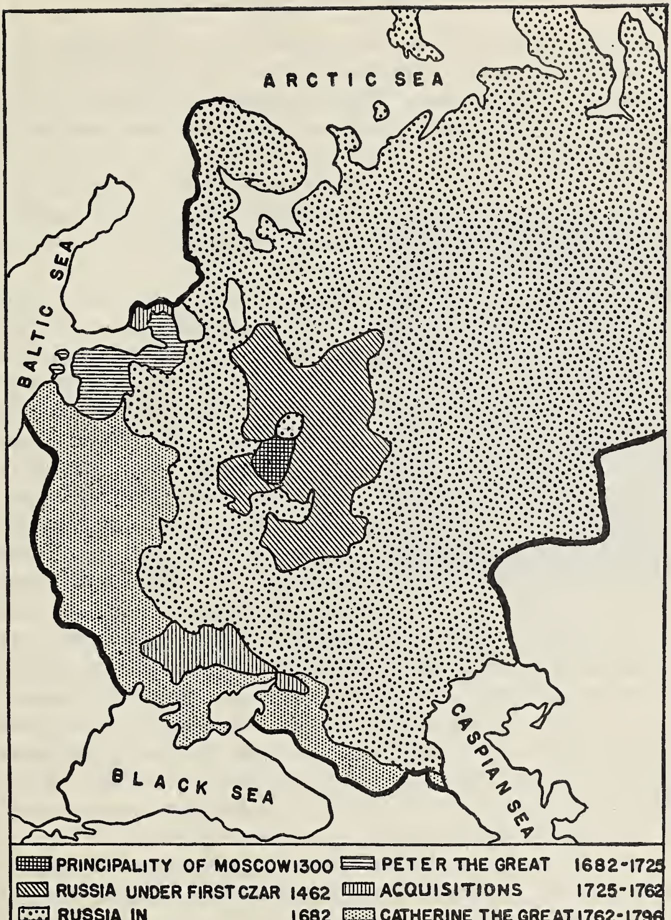
His son and heir, Frederick, called Fritz as a boy, was at first a terrible disappointment to him. He looked to him to carry on his work. But Fritz loved poetry, music and French clothes, which his father despised. To his father, he seemed to be interested in everything else before he was interested in learning to be a soldier or in any military matter. "Fritz is a piper and a poetaster." "He cares nothing about soldiers and will ruin all that I have done." He beat Fritz in private and showed his contempt for him in public. He struck him and caned him in front of the soldiers.

Sick of it all, Fritz at the age of eighteen decided to run away from home, and escape from the country. The plot was discovered, Fritz imprisoned and young Lieutenant Catte who had helped him was sentenced by a court martial to life imprisonment. The King as absolute monarch changed the penalty to death. Catte was led out to be beheaded in front of Fritz's prison-barred window. As the blow fell Fritz fainted. Then he gazed for hours at Catte's body lying on the ground. When he promised to obey his father absolutely

Fritz was released from prison, to become an assistant clerk in the war office. Then he was ordered into a uniform, after that came the full discipline of the army, and at last Fritz became a soldier. His father did not live to see him hailed as one of the greatest soldiers in history or hear him called "Frederick the Great", but among his last words were: "My God, I die happy in having so worthy a son and successor." He had forced even his rebellious son to sacrifice his individuality to the Prussian state. After the rest of Germany was really conquered by Prussia that Prussian state became the German state. A German statesman Stresemann was to say of the Germany of 1914, "It was still the Germany of Frederick William I" and more recently a Nazi writer said, "To-day Frederick William I speaks through Adolf Hitler."

Frederick the Great (1740-1786). The fame of Frederick the Great rested mainly on his military exploits, the successful use which he made of the army created by his father. Frequent references to that military career will be found in a later chapter. Unlike his father, Frederick was interested in culture and did much to promote education. This interest became secondary to his military ambitions and there was a certain amount of posing about it, although he wrote many volumes and cultivated the friendship of scholars and writers.

Frederick was sincerely interested in the prosperity of his people and did much to encourage immigration, industry and transportation. He furthered the cause of religious toleration, partly because religion was a matter of indifference to him. Like Napoleon he had no spiritual depths. The Frederick of later years was a cold calculating cynic. He had no real respect for either God or man. The only warm winds that blew across his soul were those that were stirred by war and glory. "What," he wrote, "are fatigue and dangers compared to glory?" The English ambassador criticized his treacherous seizure of Silesia with which he began his career of conquest:


ARCTIC SEA
BALTIC SEA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
PRINCIPALITY OF MOSCOW 1300
RUSSIA UNDER FIRST CZAR 1462
RUSSIA IN 1682
PETER THE GREAT 1682-1725
ACQUISITIONS 1725-1762
CATHERINE THE GREAT 1762-1796

THE EXPANSION OF RUSSIA

"A prince who has the least regard for honour, truth and justice could not play the role he is choosing." Frederick's comment on that was: "Let the ignorant and the envious babble. . . . My object is glory; of this I am more enamoured than ever."[1]

For all of Frederick's efforts on behalf of his people, during his reign the poor in Prussia became poorer on account of his costly wars and expensive bureaucracy. His conquests added greatly to the size of Prussia.

The Rise of Russia. Beginnings. The country now called Russia is a vast territory European and Asiatic, and represents a union of many peoples. But in the Middle Ages the term was applied only to a part of what is now western Russia, inhabited by Slavs and penetrated commercially by Norsemen from the North and Byzantines from the South. The word Rus was a name for Norseman. A principality with its capital at Moscow gradually extended its rule over a large territory. One of its rulers, after having married the niece of the last Byzantine emperor (Constantinople being captured by the Turks in 1453), claimed to be the successor of the Byzantine successors of the Roman emperors, and assumed the title Czar (Caesar). Thus there were two emperors in Europe, the emperor of Russia, and the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (who later became the emperor of Austria.) From the Byzantine civilization Russia had already taken over the Christianity of the Greek Orthodox Church, some Byzantine architecture and a certain amount of Byzantine culture. One of the early Czars sent an army across the Urals and began the conquest of Siberia.

Peter the Great (1682-1725). After a confused period, marked by civil war, the Romanoff family, ruling at Moscow, restored order, but its first really strong Czar was that strange man known to history as Peter the Great. As a boy he was very much interested in mechanical and technical matters and in boats, learning about such things from the few Western Europeans in Moscow. As emperor he set his mind on three objectives: the Westernization of his people, the securing for Russia of an outlet to the sea through ice-free ports that would give her easy access to the rest of the world, and the development of absolute government.

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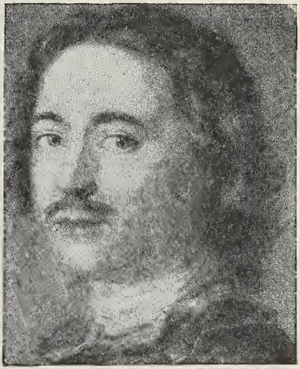
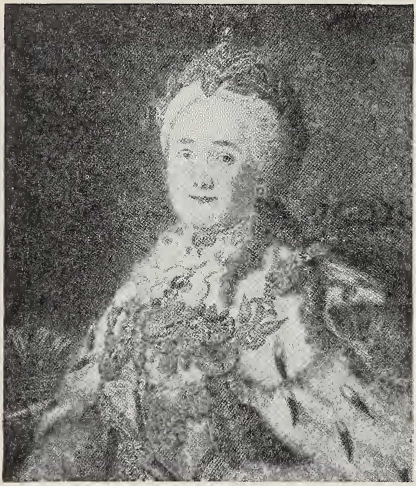
[1] Ergang, R. R.: *The Potsdam Führer.*


Nicholls: Europe in the Eighteenth Century (Harrap)
PETER THE GREAT

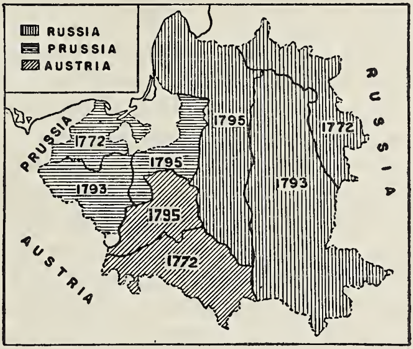
He organized an expedition to learn what the West had to teach about science, ship-building and the art of war. Having selected a leader for this expedition, he accompanied it in the guise of a common sailor, Peter Mikhailov, who entertained people at various stops along the route with a song and dance and various capers. He got a job in the ship-yards at Amsterdam where he learned a great deal. Then he went to London and did the same thing there. From Holland and England he took back shipwrights and sailors to Russia. In order to get what he called Russia's "window to the West" he began an invasion of Swedish territory on the Baltic and, after a prolonged war, gained four Baltic provinces in 1721. During this war he built a new capital, St. Petersburg, to take the place of Moscow. He also built the first Russian navy. Although he tried hard to Westernize the manners of the people he did not succeed to any great extent. But his efforts stimulated others who later worked in the same direction. He was more successful in strengthening his position in the government. His methods were brutal enough. On one occasion he carried out a "purge" in a series of drinking bouts, during which he and his friends executed a thousand of his enemies. But the nobles retained more power than in France or Prussia. He succeeded in improving Russian agriculture, but failed in his attempts to develop manufacturing.



Nicholls: Europe in the Eighteenth Century (Harrap)

CATHERINE THE GREAT

Catherine the Great (1762-1796). The next great ruler was Catherine II, who supported a movement to depose her weak-minded husband. She took the government into her own hands and continued the policies of Peter the Great, to which she added a real appreciation of Western intellectual and literary development. Recognizing that France was the intellectual leader of Europe, she invited French scholars and writers to her court. She had ambitious schemes for the education of the Russian people, but in this and in other reforms she was thwarted by the increasing power of the nobles. Immoral in her private life and unscrupulous in her politics, she had a genuine interest in the welfare of her people, a keen mind and, in some respects, a kindly heart. She achieved notable progress in the establishment of hospitals and the improvement of medical practice. In her foreign policy she was eminently successful and it is not too much to say that she made Russia a great European power. By co-operating with Frederick the Great in the shameful partitions of Poland, she increased Russian territory, and as a result of two wars with Turkey, she won Azov, the Crimea, and other territory on the Black Sea, thus opening a larger "window to the West" than Peter had opened on the Baltic.


RUSSIA
PRUSSIA
AUSTRIA
PRUSSIA
1772
1795
1793
1795
1795
1772
1793
1772
RUSSIA
AUSTRIA

PARTITIONS OF POLAND

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter the dates given in the text in your time chart under "France", "Prussia" and "Russia".

2. Compare absolutism in France under Louis XIV with the English monarchy of James I and Charles I.

3. Compare the government of Frederick William I with the recent Nazi rule in Germany. What further conclusions can you draw from your comparison?

CHAPTER VIII

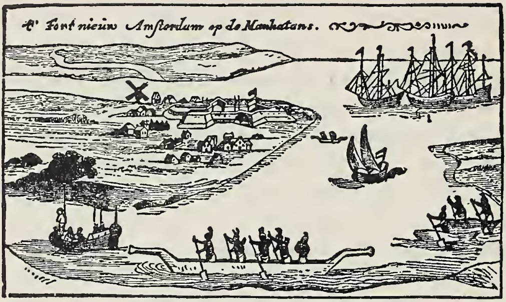
The Shift of Colonial Power. Mercantilism

Decline of the Portuguese Empire. The decline of both Portuguese and Spanish colonial power has been discussed briefly in Chapter I. Only in Brazil did Portugal colonize with a measure of success. Portugal's empire in the Indian Ocean consisted of little more than a number of scattered fortified trading posts. They were poorly supplied with what they needed. Portugal failed to train colonial administrators, and what public services she had in her "colonies" were marred by graft and exploitation of the natives. In any case Portugal did not have the natural resources or the population sufficient to support a great colonial power. In 1580 Portugal was annexed to Spain. In the early years of the following century England and Holland threw their naval forces into the zone of the Indian Ocean and took over most of what had been the Portuguese empire in the East.

Decline of the Spanish Empire. Spain's economic decline weakened her as a colonial power. A nation committed to a policy of war and glory, that had built up no industrial strength and suffered from a backward agriculture, she could sustain the cost of neither her European wars nor her colonial empire. The Netherlands might have been a great source of wealth but we have seen how Spain threw that opportunity away. Her naval power and her prestige suffered a staggering blow in the defeat of the "invincible Armada". Spain did not adequately supply her colonies and she did not encourage their supplying themselves and building up their economic strength. The colonies kept going in a struggling manner and she retained her empire until the nineteenth century, but by the end of the sixteenth the days of her greatness were over and in the seventeenth century her decline proceeded rapidly.

Rise of the Dutch Empire. We have seen how, early in this period, the Dutch built ships which carried the Portuguese trade from Lisbon to the Netherlands, and how during the fight for freedom against Spain Amsterdam took the place of Antwerp as the great trading city of the north (pages 7, 43, 48). With the formation of the Dutch East India Company in 1602 this great commercial country reached out after the trade of the East Indies and began the building of an empire. The Dutch easily demonstrated their naval superiority over the Portuguese, burned a Portuguese fleet, seized Portuguese ports and established their empire in the East Indian islands. In the middle of the seventeenth century they took over the Portuguese Cape of Good Hope and established Cape Colony as a station on the sea-road to their empire. The Dutch East India Company manned its service with well-trained and well-paid officials. Dutch enterprise looked westward as well as eastward. Early in the seventeenth century they established a trading colony, New Amsterdam, on the present site of New York. In all of this expansion the Dutch realized the advantage of having thrown off absolutism. Their enterprise breathed the spirit of freedom.

Anglo-Dutch Rivalry. Englishmen naturally resented the extent to which Dutch shipping carried the greater amount of world trade, including English trade. Parliament passed a Navigation Act in 1651 requiring all trade to and from English colonies to be carried in English ships, an act designed to injure the Dutch carrying trade and to build up that of England. Their trade rivalry and non-economic factors caused a series of wars between England and Holland (1652-4; 1665-7; 1672-4). The last of these wars, in the reign of Charles II, was associated with a political alliance between that ruler and Louis XIV. The feelings of most of the English people by that time were anti-French and pro-Dutch, and the younger William of Orange was a hero in their eyes. His desire for English assistance against France, which was the principal cause of his willingness to become king of England as William III, cemented a feeling of friendship and alliance between the two peoples. One result of the Anglo-Dutch wars was England's acquisition of the New Netherlands, which removed an obstacle in the path of her American colonies. New Amsterdam became New York. England forged ahead of Holland commercially and London replaced Amsterdam, but the Dutch retained their colonial empire.


t' Fort nieuw Amſterdam op de Manhatans.

Clement: The Story of Britain (Harrap)
EARLIEST PICTURE OF NEW YORK (NEW AMSTERDAM)

Rise of the French Empire (to 1688). Although the work of Jacques Cartier and other explorers had been important, the first permanent French settlement in the new world was that of Champlain at Quebec in 1608. Two years later the permanent settlement of Acadia began, after an earlier failure. From the early days of the Quebec colony Catholic missionaries travelled westward in their zeal to convert the Indians, and the fur-trade pushed exploration far into the continent. Cardinal Richelieu, who was well aware of the importance of overseas trade, favoured rule by a trading company, a step which was taken in 1627. But company rule was abandoned because the French failed to make a success of it. A new policy was adopted when in 1663, under Louis XIV's minister Colbert, royal government was established with the governor, the bishop, and the intendant as the three chief officials. The scourge of the Iroquois, which threatened the existence of New France, was met when a strong regiment was sent out to protect the colony, and the number of permanent residents was increased when the soldiers were persuaded to settle and wives were sent for them from France. Exploration continued and in 1682 La Salle reached the Gulf of Mexico by way of the Mississippi River and by claiming territory for the King of France prepared the way for the establishment of another colony, Louisiana. In the following years the two great river valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi were connected by a chain of forts from Louisbourg to New Orleans. Royal rule meant absolute rule, and under it the people came to depend more and more upon the government.

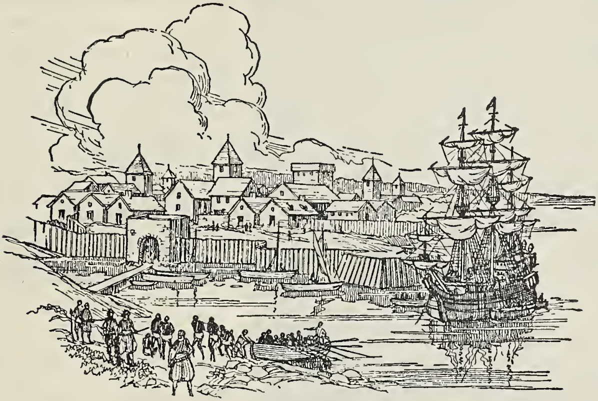
France's colonial power in the West Indies and in India was also established. Colbert was deeply interested in developing French industries and turned to colonies as a source of raw materials. In 1660 he reorganized a West India Company and four years later founded the French East India Company. The latter soon established trading posts in India and made favourable treaties with native rulers.

Rise of the British Empire (to 1688). In the sixteenth century a great deal was done by Englishmen which may be regarded as preparation for empire. We have already noted Henry VIII's intense interest in ships and shipping and his founding of the royal navy. Further improvements were made and the naval power was built up, which was later to protect the English world trade and English colonies. A company called the Merchant Adventurers had existed since the fourteenth century. It was a sort of mediaeval guild, with its field of trading in the Netherlands and Germany. It provided a stimulus for trading further afield and for the formation of other companies. In 1555 there was founded the first great joint-stock company, the Muscovy Company for trading in Russia. In 1581 the Levant Company was formed to trade in the Mediterranean. These trading companies were simply given permission to trade by the government and granted a monopoly of trade, so far as English merchants were concerned, in a certain defined zone. So far English overseas trade was a matter of private enterprise and that continued to be the case under Elizabeth. The enterprise was left to the merchants, but Elizabeth lent ships to the English "sea-dogs", shared in their plunder, and honoured them for their successes.

On the last day of the sixteenth century, December 31, 1600, the English East India Company received its charter. The charter was granted to "the governor and company of merchants from London trading into the East Indies." In a short time the Dutch had strongly entrenched themselves commercially in the islands, and the English company turned to the mainland of India.

At the death of Elizabeth in 1603 England had one colony in name and title, Newfoundland, which Humphrey Gilbert had claimed for the English crown, but there was no permanent settlement there until some years later. The sixteenth century had been for Englishmen overseas the age of adventurous trade; the seventeenth century was that of equally adventurous settlement. In the new century government took a considerable interest in trade but made little attempt to encourage or control settlement. The class that was interested in colonies was just the class who were carrying on a struggle for political liberty at home, and freedom of enterprise and freedom of association went along with political freedom in their minds.

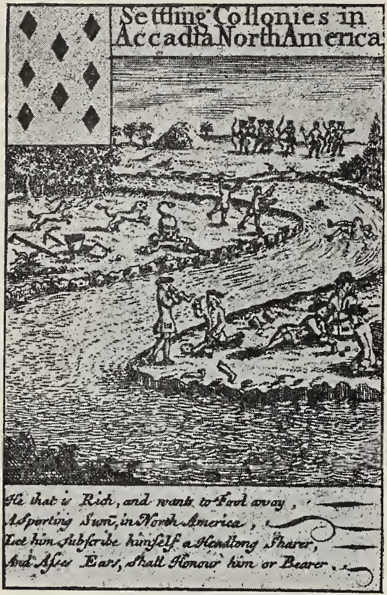
The first permanent colonial settlement was made at Jamestown in 1607. Sir Walter Raleigh's colonizing failure there in Elizabeth's reign had left behind it a name, Virginia, and an undefeated hope. When the first ship reached Jamestown with further supplies in 1608, only 38 of the 143 colonists had survived in their courageous battle against nature.



JAMESTOWN

In the West Indies, British settlements were made at the Bermudas in 1612, St. Kitts in 1624, Barbados in 1625 and the Bahamas in 1647. Jamaica was the first colony whose establishment was the result of direct government action and the first to be conquered by force of arms. In capturing it from Spain in 1655 Cromwell, who was intensely interested in the expansion of the empire, enunciated a policy that when England found herself engaged in a European war, she should use her navy to seize the colonies of the enemy.

On the mainland the famous Pilgrim Father settlement at Plymouth was made in 1620. Half of those who arrived in the Mayflower died during the first winter. Other New England colonies followed, the reasons for these settlements being religious persecution in England as well as better prospects in a new world. The colony of Maryland was founded in 1634. A later important colony was the Quaker settlement of Pennsylvania.


Settling Collonies in Accadia North America
He that is Rich, and wants to Fool away,
A Sporting Sum, in North America,
Let him Subſcribe himſelf a Headlong Sharer,
And Aſses Ears, ſhall Honour him or Bearer.

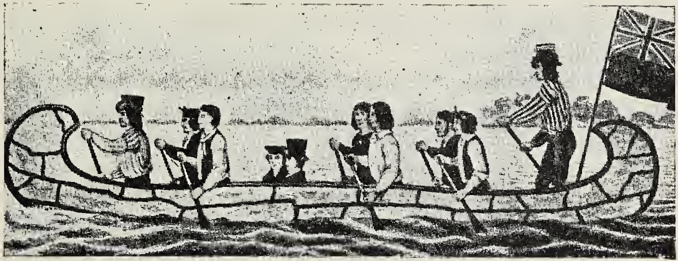
Morris & Wood: The English-Speaking Nations (Clarendon Press)

THE EIGHT OF DIAMONDS

A playing card, making fun of investing in the colonization of Nova Scotia.

The American colonies were left pretty well to fend for themselves. They were granted large rights of self-government, as against government from London. All of them had representative assemblies in which they legislated for themselves, while the executive power was in the hands of a governor appointed by the government of England, by a trading company, or by a proprietor like Lord Baltimore, with a council to advise the governor.

In the French colonies in America economic life was largely limited to agriculture and the fur trade. In the British American colonies it was much more diversified. Various forms of trade were developed by the private enterprise of the colonists themselves. While complete religious liberty developed slowly, there was freedom some place in the British colonies for those of every religious persuasion. Religious freedom and local self-government attracted men to the British colonies as well as economic opportunity. Certainly they grew more rapidly than did New France. At the time of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 their combined population was about three hundred thousand, while the population of Canada was only twenty thousand.



Morris & Wood: The English-Speaking Nations (Clarendon Press)

AN OFFICIAL OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

While the Hudson's Bay Company did not establish colonies in this period, part of the story of empire is that of the scattered trading posts which it established across a vast area in the northwest of the continent. In the year 1670 the first charter was granted to "the governor and company of adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay."

Mercantilism. Mercantilism is a term applied to the rigid control which, in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the state exercised over trade. The purpose of that control was the enrichment of the government—the building of a state treasure—or the increased prosperity of the people. The means employed were various and constituted a network of regulations—protective tariffs, prohibition of imports, duties on some exports, bounties, attempts to fix prices and wages, setting of standards for the quality of goods, the establishment of government industries and government monopolies. There was nothing new about all that. Town governments and local guilds had done it all and more in the Middle Ages (see New and Phillips, pages 408-11). Now the government of the state had replaced the government of the town. Mercantilism is simply the expression of nationalism in the field of economics.

The term "mercantilism" is also used to designate the theories that were advanced in this period to support this state regulation. It has been frequently applied to one theory in particular, that of a "favourable balance of trade." The idea was that if a nation exported more than it imported it would receive a "favourable balance" in gold and silver bullion; therefore everything should be done to increase exports and decrease imports. Probably the principal reason why that policy was pursued was that this period was one of many wars and under the conditions prevailing at the time a good supply of gold and silver in the national treasury or available in the country was necessary for a nation that was not to be caught napping by the outbreak of war. That war situation also tended to justify mercantilism in the broader sense in the minds of the men at that time. Mercantilism aimed at national economic self-sufficiency, a nation supplying all its needs at home so far as possible. The advantage of that in time of war is obvious. And this was a period in which nations lived in constant expectation of war, caused by religious or dynastic rivalry or the ambitions of powerful sovereigns.

We have already seen, in Chapter I, something of the failure of Spanish mercantilism. French mercantilism, like the Spanish, was of a rigid type, but it was pursued more intelligently and was supported by greater economic strength.

Colbert was the typical French mercantilist. English mercantilism was strong enough in theory, but in practice it was less strictly applied and allowed more freedom to individual enterprise.

Mercantilism had less to do with the establishment of British colonies than had individual commercial enterprise and religious motives. But Englishmen at home believed that the value of colonies lay in an extension of state control that would unite England and her colonies in an "economic unity." The Navigation Laws had originated in an effort to break the Dutch control of shipping and to build British naval power on British shipping (since at that time merchant ship could easily mean war-ship). But those laws were extended to the colonies so that all trade to and from British colonies had to be carried in British ships. Colonial raw material could be exported only to Britain and since the colonial market as well as the home market was to be preserved for British manufactures, foreign goods were to be kept out and American manufacturing in competing lines discouraged. All of that was mercantilism and will be discussed later as one of the most important causes of the American Revolution.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter the dates given in the text in your time chart under the heading, in each case, of the empire concerned.

2. What benefits to the world accrued from the establishment of the colonial empires in this period by European powers?

3. Are there any survivals of mercantilism today? If so, discuss their wisdom.

CHAPTER IX

The Wars of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

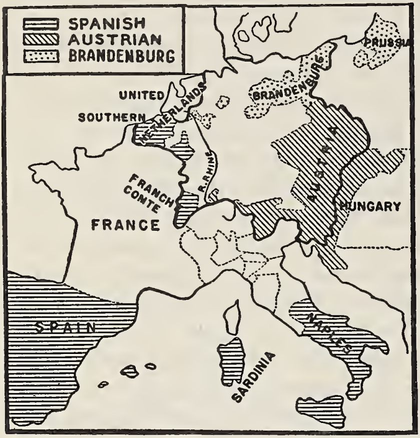
General Causes of War. Between 1666 and 1763 there was a series of wars in Europe which in the later part of that period expanded into world wars. One of the most important causes of these wars was the rivalry between the ambitions of two great ruling families, the Bourbons and the Hapsburgs, each desirous of acquiring more territory and enjoying the glory of dominating the European world. Louis XIV's general attitude toward life was a potent cause of war. His glory policy was linked up with the conception of "the natural frontiers of France", on the south the Mediterranean and the Pyrenees, on the west the Bay of Biscay, on the north the English Channel, and on the east—the Rhine. The Rhine was the greatest river in western Europe, a natural frontier. There was German territory between what was then France and the Rhine, but there was also Spanish territory, including the Spanish Netherlands and Franche Comté. To get to the Rhine Louis XIV had to fight Spain and since the king of Spain was a Hapsburg (the other great Hapsburg ruler was the Emperor), that tied in with the old feud between Bourbons and Hapsburgs. Some time after Louis's death the territorial ambitions of Frederick the Great and *his* love of glory precipitated European wars.

What had England to do with all of that? For some time English policy in Europe had been dictated by considerations of "balance of power." England felt that her own safety was dependent on the prevention of any one power dominating Europe or any combination of powers becoming too strong. Consequently she was prepared to throw her strength on the side of any combination that was calculated to hinder such a development. Another fundamental principle of English foreign policy was that the strongest power (or combination of powers) in Europe should not control what is now Belgium and what was then the Spanish Netherlands. As Napoleon said later, whoever held Antwerp held a dagger aimed at the heart of England. During the whole of this period between 1666 and 1763 France was the power that threatened to dominate Europe, and France was constantly seeking to conquer the Spanish Netherlands. So in every war of the period England was on the side opposed to France.

Holland was also vitally concerned in the Spanish Netherlands. After she had won her independence Holland had little reason to fear Spain but she had every reason to fear France. It was very convenient to have Spanish territory between Holland and France. But if France succeeded in acquiring the Spanish Netherlands, France and Holland became next-door neighbours. Part of Holland was west of the Rhine. And there was no guarantee that Louis's ambition would stop at the Rhine. So Holland, like England, was bound to resist any aggressive move on the part of France.

To these causes of war was added the colonial rivalry of England and France but until toward the end of the period the fighting in the colonies was quite subsidiary to the Europeon wars. The principal causes of the latter were political rather than economic.

Louis XIV's First Four Wars. In January, 1666, France joined Holland in the second Anglo-Dutch war. France's part in the war was slight and a peace was concluded in the following year. Intent on acquiring Spanish territory lying between him and the Rhine, Louis XIV on a flimsy pretext began to seize territory in the Spanish Netherlands (1667). That brought on war with Spain. England and Holland became frightened for the reasons noted above and their readiness to support Spain was enough at this time to induce Louis to make peace. He retained a number of border-fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands. In 1672 Louis attacked Holland directly. The younger William of Orange at the age of twenty-two took up the task of leading the European resistance to Louis XIV. This young man had the heart of a lion. He was a stern task-master, slow and cautious in making decisions. He cared little for doctrine and theories, but combined with remarkable ability an adherence to principle and common-sense. The Dutch heroically opened the dikes and flooded their own country. William of Orange formed a strong alliance against France. As a result of the war, which ended in 1678, Louis gained Franche Comté and more fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands.


SPANISH
AUSTRIAN
BRANDENBURG
PRUSSIA
BRANDENBURG
UNITED
SOUTHERN
NETHERLANDS
R. RHINE
FRANCH COMTE
FRANCE
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
SPAIN
NAPLES
SARDINIA

WESTERN EUROPE EARLY IN THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV

The heavy line marks the boundary of the Holy Roman Empire.

During an interval of peace Louis seized Strasbourg and Luxembourg. At the same time across the Atlantic French armed traders were seizing Hudson's Bay posts. These actions brought on another European war, in 1688. William of Orange, who again led European states against Louis's aggression, accepted the English crown at this time mainly in order to ensure English support in this European struggle.

English interests however pointed in that direction in any case. This was the first modern war to assume the proportions of a world war. It was fought in five theatres of conflict in continental Europe, in Scotland and in Ireland (including the Battle of the Boyne), in Africa, in the West Indies, and in America where Acadia was conquered but was restored at the peace. The world wars of this period were, however, fought by professional armies, which were much smaller than those of our time. In the peace treaty signed in 1697 Louis agreed to allow the Dutch to garrison certain "barrier" fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands and gave up all territory which he had seized since the last peace-treaty except Strasbourg. He also recognized William III as king of England and withdrew his support of James II.

Historical Portraits (Clarendon Press)
MARLBOROUGH

War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713). As the seventeenth century approached its end all Europe was agog over the succession to the Spanish throne. The king of Spain was about to die without direct heirs. The leading claimants were members of the great Bourbon and Hapsburg families, the ruling families in France and Austria. In November 1700 the king of Spain died and it was announced that he had willed his throne to the grandson of Louis XIV. Although France and Spain were not to be joined under one ruler, there was a serious threat to the balance of power in Europe. Louis followed that up by seizing the "barrier fortresses" in the Spanish Netherlands, driving out the Dutch garrisons. He took steps to exclude England and Holland from the Spanish American trade. And he recognized the son of James II as the rightful king of England. Now England had at stake the balance of power in Europe, danger from the Spanish Netherlands, overseas trade and her own political settlement of 1688. An alliance of England, Holland, Austria, Prussia and some smaller German states was formed against France and Spain, and the War of the Spanish Succession began.

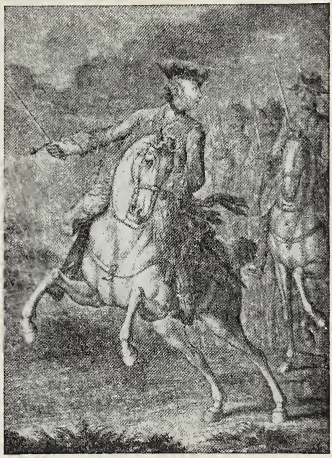
When William III died in the year of the outbreak of war he was succeeded as leader of the resistance to Louis XIV by John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, a man of considerable military experience, potential military genius, bull-dog courage, and "a good plain understanding." The coming of a very great war made him, like his descendant in our time, the man of the hour. His brilliant victories including Blenheim, among the most famous in British history, broke the invincibility of France.

By the Treaty of Utrecht which ended the war in 1713 Austria acquired the Spanish Netherlands which now became the Austrian Netherlands. The grandson of Louis XIV was recognized as king of Spain, but on condition that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united. Gibraltar and Minorca were ceded to Great Britain. (The union of England and Scotland had taken place in 1707.)

The colonial terms of this treaty were also very important. Acadia and Newfoundland were ceded to Great Britain and the Hudson's Bay posts were restored. These great gains were due to the British victories in Europe rather than to the fighting in America, where the British, although they captured Port Royal, were defeated more frequently than they were victorious. Great Britain was also granted by the

Treaty of Utrecht the right to send one ship each year to trade with the Spanish colonies in America and the right of supplying them with slaves.

War of the Austrian Succession (1740-8). In the year 1740 the Emperor Charles VI died after inducing most of the rulers of Europe to sign agreements guaranteeing to his daughter her peaceful succession to all of the Austrian possessions. Frederick the Great had signed with the others but with no intention of observing the obligation. Two months after the emperor's death he marched his armies into Silesia without declaring war. When Maria Theresa, the new Austrian ruler, a young woman of twenty-three, accomplished, athletic, beautiful and as brave as she was intelligent, attacked Frederick, he won a brilliant victory over the Austrian army. It was the first use that was made of the military power which old Frederick William had built up for young Fritz.



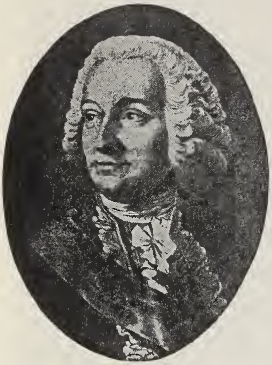
Lawrence: Movements in European History (Oxford)

FREDERICK THE GREAT

Maria Theresa soon found herself attacked by powerful enemies. France, actuated by the old antipathy to Austria and greed for Austrian lands, carried Spain with her and won the support of Sweden. This new threat to the balance of power and the fear of France acquiring the Austrian Netherlands, brought Britain and Holland to the aid of Austria. Russia supported this alliance. Maria Theresa ceded Silesia to Frederick on condition that he make a separate peace which he did without consulting his allies. After abandoning them he cynically remarked: "Happy are they who, having secured their own safety, can tranquilly look upon the embarrassment and anxiety of others."

This war also was a world war. New Englanders captured Louisbourg in 1745, but at the end of the war it was restored to France.

More notable was the bringing of India into the general conflict. For a long time both the French and English in India confined themselves to trade and trading posts. The Mogul empire kept the peace in India, and peace was all the English traders wanted. Toward the end of the seventeenth century the Mogul empire weakened, disorder spread in India and the officials of the English East India Company came to feel that they would have to protect themselves. They contemplated the maintenance of a limited territorial holding, an idea which the directors of the company in England opposed at first, and to which they were converted very gradually. Then in the course of the War of Austrian Succession the French governor in India, Dupleix, planned to create a great French empire in India, and began making alliances with Indian princes and training Indian troops. The capitalists of the French East India company felt that their own trade was imperilled by Dupleix's dreams. They were opposed to his policy, but Dupleix had caught the glory disease that was so strong in Europe at the time. Dupleix was on the ground, had a fleet and army at his



Morris & Wood: English-Speaking Nations (Clarendon)
DUPLEIX

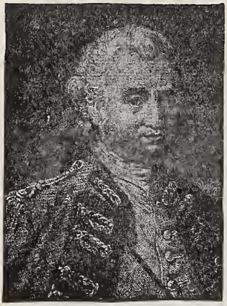
disposal and proceeded to capture Madras from the British. Madras was restored by the treaty at the end of the war but Dupleix had won a moral victory. Prestige counted in India as well as in Europe.

The Jacobite rising of 1745 under Bonnie Prince Charlie, encouraged as it was by the French, was part of the War of Austrian Succession. The peace which closed this world-struggle left everything as it had been. Silesia went to Prussia whose wealth and population were greatly augmented by this acquisition, but it had already been ceded by Maria Theresa.

The Seven Years' War (1756-1763). The peace which ended the War of Austrian Succession was only a truce. Everything pointed to the outbreak of another world war. The intrepid Maria Theresa was determined to win back Silesia. Although Frenchmen at home still thought little of India or America, the French colonists both east and west were bent on expansion. And British foreign policy was turning strongly to the idea of the primacy of American (including of course West Indian) rather than European interests. Indeed the term "Seven Years' War" is a misnomer. Fighting between French and English began in India in 1751 and in America in 1754.

There would be no room for British trade in the French Indian empire which Dupleix was seeking to build. Robert Clive left a clerk's desk to prepare himself to match Dupleix at his own game. With a lightning stroke he captured Arcot from the French, and when the French capitalists at home, interested in quick dividends rather than political expansion, recalled Dupleix, Clive made headway against his weaker successors.

In America the main line of communication between the French settlements on the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi lay through the Ohio valley where the French proceeded to build roads and a chain of forts. That meant blocking the westward expansion of the British colonies and shutting them in between the mountains and the sea. George Washington at the age of twenty-one was sent with a small force to warn them off and was defeated in the first conflict of this war in America. In the following year, 1755, Great Britain sent out General Braddock and he, with a much larger force, suffered a humiliating defeat near Fort Duquesne.


Historical Portraits (Clarendon)
CLIVE

In the meantime in Europe Maria Theresa had succeeded in making an alliance with France against Frederick the Great. A French-Austrian alliance cut across the enmity of two centuries and a half between those nations, the old Bourbon-Hapsburg feud. French public opinion was disgusted with the results of the last war. Frederick had got France into it, had deserted her, and was the only one to gain anything at the peace. "To work for the King of Prussia" is a phrase which in France still means to do something useless. Frederick, who had already concluded a defensive alliance with Great Britain, found himself opposed in the new war by Austria, France, Russia and Sweden.

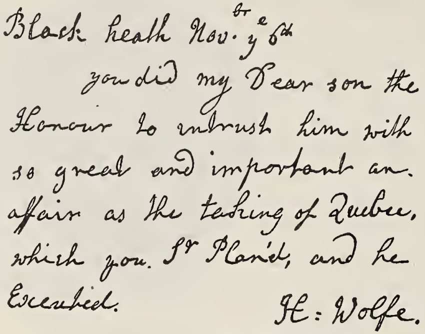
In 1757 the delayed news reached Britain of the capture of Calcutta and the horrible agonies of men, women and children in "the Black Hole of Calcutta." Minorca had been lost in the previous year. The European war had gone against Frederick the Great, who had bought poison with a view to suicide. If he were crushed, there was no life left for the balance of power in Europe. Men went in fear of an invasion of England. In America Montcalm had won a series of victories over the British. Lord Chesterfield might well say: "We are undone at home and abroad. We are no longer a nation. I never saw so dreadful a prospect."

In the month of June 1757 William Pitt took over the control of the government of Britain and of the war. "I know," he had said, "that I can save this country and that no one else can." This tall hawk-nosed man snatched empire out of the jaws of ignominy. He co-ordinated every element of the world war and saw things clearly because he brought them all within the focus of a world vision. He made himself the master of armies, navies and resources in every part of the world as a great chess player is master of the board. He was a remarkable orator, as the leader of the British nation has been in every great struggle since then: Pitt's son in the Napoleonic wars, Lloyd George in the first world war of the twentieth century, and Winston Churchill in our time. Pitt's power was largely a moral power. He despised the political corruption in the midst of which he lived, and determined that nothing should stand in the way of the war effort. Official red tape and rules of seniority were cut through with decision and boldness. He had a remarkable ability to discover and select the best men and he radiated his own enthusiasm to the young generals whom he promoted over the heads of the seniors. When on one occasion Wolfe gave an extraordinary exhibition of over-enthusiasm, it was reported to the king that he was mad. "Mad?" said George II, "then I hope he will bite some of my other generals."

Turberville: English Men & Manners of Eighteenth Century (Clarendon)

THE ELDER PITT

Pitt supported Frederick the Great with heavy financial subsidies, and with a successful army protected Hanover, the king's European state, and Frederick's western flank. The tide of war was turned in America as well as in Europe. In one great achievement Pitt had no part; Clive's victory at Plassey in 1757 decided the fate of India and laid the basis for Britain's expanding empire there. In 1759 Britain won undisputed mastery of the seas, and Wolfe's brilliant stroke at Quebec decided the fate of America and made certain the conquest of Canada. French possessions in Africa and the West Indies were seized. The Peace of Paris left Frederick in possession of Silesia and ceded to Great Britain all territory in America east of the Mississippi as well as new acquisitions in the West Indies and in Africa. Thus at the end of this long struggle of a hundred years (1666-1763) France had not only failed to achieve ascendancy in Europe but also had lost most of her colonial empire, and Great Britain had become the greatest colonial power.



Black heath Nov.^{br} y^{e} 6th

you did my Dear son the Honour to intrust him with so great and important an affair as the taking of Quebec, which you. S^{r} Plan'd, and he Executed.

H: Wolfe.

Turberville: English Men & Manners of Eighteenth Century (Clarendon)

LETTER OF MRS. WOLFE TO PITT

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter in your time chart, under the principal countries involved, the dates given in this chapter. Have a special column for "America".
2. Compare the eighteenth century with the twentieth century in regard to the causes and character of war.
3. Write a brief essay on Marlborough or Clive.

CHAPTER X

THE BIRTH OF MODERN SCIENCE

Science had made slow progress throughout the Middle Ages. The advance was greater in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But science was not a prominent interest in the period of the Renaissance. Then in the middle of the sixteenth century remarkable events took place which may be said to constitute the birth of modern science. Astronomy and medicine are treated fully here because the developments in these are simpler and more readily understood. They are examples of revolutionary development in all the sciences.

Astronomy before Copernicus. Among the things that most scholars felt quite sure of in the early sixteenth century were the immobility of the earth and its central position in the universe. Copernicus created the greatest of all revolutions in our conceptions of the universe when he successfully asserted that the earth moved, in fact that it had two motions; it moved around on its own axis once in every twenty-four hours and it moved around the sun once in a year. That meant the substitution of an entirely new astronomy for the old astronomy that had been accepted for thousands of years.

Yet this theory of Copernicus was not altogether new. In the third century B.C., Aristarchus of Samos, who was an able astronomer, stated that the sun was the centre of the universe and that the earth moved on its own axis and around the sun. That was the Copernican astronomy, but it seemed so absurd that it was laughed aside, not to be taken seriously for nearly two thousand years. In the second century A.D., Ptolemy, a Greek astronomer of Alexandria, constructed a highly complicated system of astronomy with the earth motionless at the centre. Although the Ptolemaic system was accepted generally for centuries and no rival system was produced, the greatest scholars of the Middle Ages including St. Thomas Aquinas and Roger Bacon were keen enough to detect difficulties. In the fifteenth century there was a much more vigorous revival of observational astronomy. That was due to the general turning toward nature which had been increasing, to the voyages of discovery with their practical demand for astronomical knowledge, and to the great Renaissance interest in the Greek writers.

Copernicus (1473-1543). Then came Copernicus. He was born in Poland, the son of a wealthy merchant. He studied at the Polish University of Cracow where there was a strong emphasis on mathematics and astronomy. Then for eight and a half years he pursued what we would call post-graduate study in Italy—Greek, philosophy, law, medicine, mathematics and astronomy. One, at least, of his professors had serious doubts about the validity of the Ptolemaic system. The young Copernicus went further. He became convinced that the system was wrong, and that a true explanation of the heavenly bodies *could be* discovered and proved. In his own study of the classics he learned that some Greek philosophers had believed in a double motion of the earth.

After his studies in Italy he settled as a canon in the cathedral of Frauenberg in Poland. In addition to his duties as a priest he did some medical work and wrote several books on medicine. But much of his time was spent in a tower at the north-west corner of the cathedral enclosure observing the heavenly bodies and pondering on his new strange theories. A brief outline of his ideas was circulated in manuscript among a few scholars. Copernicus put off publication as long as he could, partly because of "the scorn which I had to fear on account of the novelty and seeming unreasonableness of my ideas," partly probably, although he did not say so, because he was afraid of getting into trouble with the Church, and also because he wanted to work out the best arguments possible before he published his book. Finally friends of his saw it through the press in 1543. Copernicus was seventy years old, paralysed, and very ill. On May 24 of that year an advance copy of the book was placed in his hands. A few hours later he died.

Copernicus was not a great observer and many of his minor conclusions were wrong. His genius rested on an adventurous type of mind, a remarkable knowledge for that time of the earlier writings, and good reasoning power. He described himself as the man "into whose mind it came to dare to imagine some motion of the earth, contrary to the received opinion of the mathematicians and well-nigh contrary to common sense." That daring to imagine something contrary to received opinion and to common sense has been necessary for many of the great steps that have been taken in the advancement of human knowledge. For the great scientist and the great scholar imagination is as important as careful observation.

The universe of Copernicus, whose centre was the sun and not the earth, was a very small affair. He had no conception of the vastness of the real universe. What he gave us was a fundamentally true conception of the solar system.

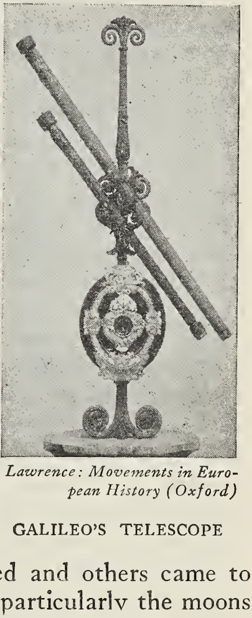
Kepler. The theory of Copernicus made its way slowly. In the following generation the majority of scholars were still opposed to it. The next great astronomical theorist was Johann Kepler (1571-1630). An attack of smallpox at the age of five left him with crippled limbs and weakened vision. He studied theology with a view to entering the Lutheran ministry, but he believed that his Copernican convictions would make his success in the ministry impossible. So at the age of twenty-four he turned to science, deciding to make the stars, rather than his preaching, glorify God. He obtained a lectureship in mathematics, but he was a poor teacher. He had very few students the first year and the next year none. Fortune seems to have come his way once and once only; he was appointed assistant to a great Danish astronomer.

His master's observations of the planet Mars did not seem to Kepler to be consistent with the assumption, unquestioned since the time of Aristotle, that the planets moved in circular orbits. Kepler was determined to find out what was wrong; he convinced himself that the observations were not wrong, so the assumption must be. After years of study, he was ready to proclaim to the world that planets moved not in circles but in elliptical orbits of which one focus is the sun. That became known as Kepler's first law. He proceeded to formulate two other laws which explained the movements of heavenly bodies in terms of exact mathematical formulae. His feelings when he discovered his third law were expressed in the words which he dashed off: "It is now eighteen months since I got the first glimpse of light, three months since the dawn. . . . The die is cast, the book is written; to be read either now or by posterity I care not which: it may well wait a century for a reader, as God has waited six thousand years for an observer."

By that time the Thirty Years' War had begun, disrupting Germany and focusing the attention of all Europe. No one could have predicted that the poverty-stricken scholar, driven from town to town, would deserve a much fuller treatment in the histories of three hundred years thence than would all the battles and campaigns of the Thirty Years' War. Kepler himself could not, of course, realize the full significance of his work. He had begun a revolution in human thought. In discovering that the heavens operate in accordance with laws so definite that they could be reduced to simple mathematical formulae he started men on the path of discovering many laws which operate uniformly on earth as well as in the heavens; and pursuing that new faith in science and its uniformity men were to enlarge their understanding of the universe in which they lived and to devise countless new devices for the service of man.

Galileo. The first to follow up that new path with brilliant success was Galileo (1564-1642). As a student and later a professor at the University of Pisa he made important discoveries in physics, although frequently-told stories about the swinging lamp and the dropping of the weights from the leaning tower are now believed to be legendary.

In 1609 Galileo heard of the invention the year before of a rudimentary telescope—a mere spy-glass—by a Dutchman named Lippershey. He decided to make one for himself. This instrument magnified only three times, but his third telescope magnified thirty times. When Galileo turned this stronger telescope to the sky he made some remarkable discoveries—the moons of Jupiter, the phases of Venus, the spots on the sun, and the true nature of the Milky Way. He believed and others came to believe, that some of these discoveries, particularly the moons of Jupiter, added strength to the Copernican theory.



Lawrence: Movements in European History (Oxford)

GALILEO'S TELESCOPE

Galileo was the inventor of the utility of the telescope, although not of the original idea. He was immediately besieged with requests for telescopes from all parts of Europe. Looking through telescopes became a social fad as well as a scientific enthusiasm. The Emperor, who was fond of hunting, wanted a telescope through which he could see not only the mountains of the moon but the stags roaming in its valleys.

This development of popular interest in telescopes did much to popularize the Copernican theory, which up to this time had been taken seriously only by scholars. Frightened by this, and realizing that it was more difficult than ever to argue against the Copernicans, the more conservative scholars who were determined to maintain the old Aristotelian and Ptolemaic positions, asserted that the Copernican theory was contrary to statements made in the Scriptures, and appealed to the Church authorities to silence the Copernicans as heretics. Both Catholic and Protestant leaders had been disturbed about the Copernican theory. After an investigation by the Inquisition Galileo was admonished not to teach or defend "the doctrine attributed to Copernicus." According to the records of the Inquisition, he promised to obey.

That was in 1616. Sixteen years later Galileo published a book entitled *Dialogue on the Two Principal Systems of the Universe, the Ptolemaic and the Copernican, propounding, without deciding for Either, the natural and philosophical reasons in favour of Each.* There were three characters, one arguing for Ptolemy, one for Copernicus and a third who began by assuming an impartial, common-sense, open-minded attitude but who became convinced at every point that the Copernican had the better of the argument. Galileo had been preparing arguments for years for a defence of the Copernican theory. He used them all in the *Dialogue* with telling effect. They were expressed in remarkable literary style. In addition to his other gifts Galileo was a good popularizer. The book was by far the most powerful and influential statement of the Copernican position that had been made.

Galileo was summoned to Rome, convicted by the Inquisition of having violated its previous orders, and called upon to renounce the Copernican theory, although it had never been condemned by the pope. He made a complete recantation. He was sentenced to an indefinite term of imprisonment, but he was allowed to live in a house of his own, under surveillance.

There is an oft-told story to the effect that when Galileo left the court-room he murmured: "It [the earth] does move just the same." Although this is legendary, there is, as in the case of many legends, an important truth behind it. This was expressed years after Galileo's trial, by Pascal, himself a Catholic, when he said, addressing himself to the Jesuits: "It was in vain that you obtained against Galileo that decree of Rome which condemns his opinion touching the movement of the earth. This decree will never prove that the earth remains stationary; and if constant observations prove that it turns, all the men in the world will not prevent its turning, and will not even prevent themselves from turning around with it."

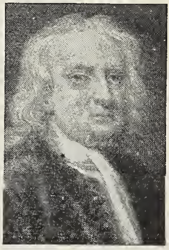
Within a comparatively short time the victory of the Copernican theory was complete. No one had done more to bring that about than Galileo. It did much to achieve absolute freedom of investigation in the search for truth.

Galileo was left free to work quietly in his own house where, from the age of seventy to that of seventy-eight, he made remarkable contributions to the study of physics. As a recent American historian has put it, he found this subject "little but a mass of ignorance and error; he left it a well-built and comely science."

Newton. The great revolution in astronomical thought was completed by Isaac Newton (1642-1727) who was born in Lincolnshire, England. As a boy he made a toy windmill, with a mouse running on a treadmill inside of it to make it go, and frightened the villagers at night by flying kites with mechanical lanterns. When he started off for college his uncle said: "Either you're a great loafer or a great genius. The Lord alone knows which." Before he graduated from Cambridge he had made two invaluable contributions to mathematics—the binomial theorem and differential calculus.

He planned to continue his studies after his graduation and was destined to spend the greater part of his life as a Cambridge professor. But immediately after his graduation in 1665 the university was closed on account of the plague and Newton went to his home for about a year. It was then that the apple fell in the garden. But the incident is frequently misunderstood. Certainly the fall of the apple did not suggest ordinary gravitation to Newton. That—the pull of objects toward the centre of the earth—had been known for centuries. The falling apple may have brought back to Newton's mind previous questions which he had asked himself. Does the force of gravitation which draws the apple to the ground reach as far as the moon? Does it account for the motion of the moon in its orbit around the earth and is it the force that explains why all the heavenly bodies obey the laws discovered by Kepler? At any rate, he started to work to test these speculations. He made a series of mathematical calculations which practically proved that the earth attracts the moon just as it did the apple, but the effect on the moving moon is to drive it on in its elliptical path about the earth, just as the continual pull by the string makes the stone in a boy's sling revolve about his hand. Later he made his calculations more exact and expanded the above hypothesis into a law which operated throughout the universe. This and many other important discoveries in the field of science were described in Newton's "Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy" in 1687, probably the most important scientific work ever published.

Newton's influence on later scientific progress was even more important than his own remarkable discoveries. In intellectual circles he became the great hero of the age. In France Voltaire said that Newton was a greater man than any of the conquerors of history. Leibnitz wrote: "Taking mathematics from the beginning of the world to the time when Newton lived, what he had done was much the better half." Newton himself said, "If I have seen further than other men, it is because I have stood on the shoulders of giants." There spoke the modest, quiet, absent-minded Cambridge professor,—so absent-minded when lost in his work that he sometimes could not remember whether he had had a meal or not.



NEWTON

Medicine. Vesalius. In the same year that Copernicus began the revolution in man's conception of the universe (1543), a Belgian professor at the University of Padua began the revolution in the study of medicine which ushered in modern medical science. His book was entitled *The Structure of the Human Body.*

Throughout the Middle Ages the sick were cared for by priests, monks, feudal lords and ladies. But there were some physicians and the period was one of slow but steady progress. Surgery was practised mainly by barbers and was of a very crude sort.

For about three hundred years before the time of Vesalius a very limited dissection of human bodies had played some part in medical education but the dissection was done by barbers while the professors lectured out of ancient medical books. These were, for the most part, built on the work of Galen, a Roman writer of the second century. A few beside Vesalius were revolting against Galen, but the most eminent of the professors of medicine of the University of Paris at that time stated that Galen was infallible and that no advance could be made on his knowledge.

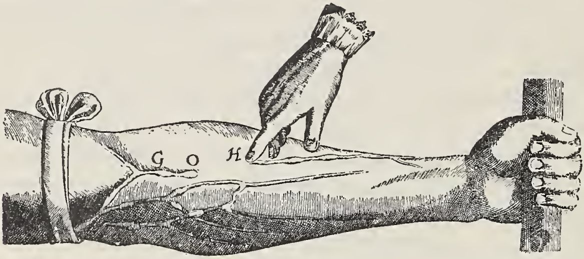
As against that background, what was Vesalius's way of doing things? He wanted to learn from a direct personal study of muscles, bones and nerves. Descended from a long line of physicians, as a boy in the Netherlands he dissected dead cats, dogs and rats. At the University of Paris he and another student asked to be allowed to do the dissecting in place of the barbers. Vesalius haunted the place of execution outside of Paris where he obtained severed hands and other parts of bodies to study for himself. But it was not until he returned to Louvain, in the Netherlands, that he got a skeleton for himself, climbing a gallows one dark night to cut a body down. As professor at the University of Louvain, Vesalius was—with one lone exception three hundred years earlier—the first teacher of medicine to do the dissecting himself as he lectured. A few years later, at the University of Padua, where he continued his public dissections of the whole body, he taught his pupils to dissect, and published his famous book which embodied the remarkable knowledge of anatomy he had acquired and was fully and vividly illustrated by a gifted artist. Both the text and the illustrations went far beyond anything previously known of the structure of the human body. One can hardly believe that, in spite of centuries of even partial and badly-conducted dissection, it was generally believed until this book was published that the liver had five lobes, that the sternum (breast-bone) had seven segments rather than three and that a woman had one more rib than a man (since Adam had lost one in the creation of Eve). The new knowledge of bones, muscles and nerves was almost as remarkable as the new knowledge of the universe which Copernicus flashed on the world in the same year.

More important even than the knowledge, was the new direction which Vesalius gave to medical study. Nature was to be studied directly rather than through the books which embodied ancient ideas handed down from generation to generation. That was part of a general movement. Just as the artists had turned to nature in the Gothic period and more fully in the Renaissance, and the astronomers turned from their books to the heavens themselves, observing, calculating, discovering the laws of nature, so in the period following Vesalius the study of medicine examined and observed directly the structure and workings of the human body and made marvellous discoveries.

Ambroise Paré (1510-1590). Immediate results of the improved knowledge of anatomy ushered in by Vesalius were better surgery and the creation of a new status for the surgeon. The most famous surgeon of the period was Ambroise Paré, who became first surgeon of the King of France. At that time "surgeons of the robe" as they were called, supervised operations but had barbers do the work. As Vesalius had done his own dissecting, Paré did his own operating. And he learned more and more to follow the teaching of nature rather than that of tradition. One of his innovations was the use of ligatures instead of cauteries in stopping the flow of blood after amputations. A great deal of suffering was averted by his discovery that gunshot wounds were much better treated by ointment than by boiling oil. He invented a number of new surgical instruments. In his writings he frequently finished up his account of a case with the words, "I treated him, God healed him." His great importance lies in the manner in which he combined in surgery knowledge of anatomy and the skill of the hands, and in the fact that he placed surgery on the road to becoming one of the greatest of the professions.

William Harvey (1578-1657). Probably the greatest of all single achievements in medicine in the period was William Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood. Leonardo da Vinci seems to have at least guessed at it but his knowledge in this as in other respects was locked up for centuries in his own style of short-hand. Servetus, who as a student had dissected with Vesalius at Paris and as a heretic was burned by Calvin at Geneva, gave an accurate description of the pulmonary circulation and is entitled to share some of the honour with Harvey.

Born at Folkestone in England, Harvey went to Italy at the age of twenty-two to study at the University of Padua, where Galileo was a professor at that time, and where half a century earlier, Vesalius had begun a remarkable tradition in the teaching of anatomy. One of the professors at Padua had discovered that the mouths of the valves of the veins all faced toward the heart. That suggested to the mind of the young Harvey the possibility that all the blood in the veins flowed toward the heart, a supposition which he proved by a very simple experiment. (See illustration on this page.) From that he proceeded to the discovery that the valves in the great arteries would permit the blood to flow only away from the heart. He was already familiar with the pulmonary



Singer: A Short History of Medicine (Clarendon)

ILLUSTRATION FROM HARVEY'S *CIRCULATION OF THE BLOOD*

"The valves are indicated, as in life, by nodes or swellings in the veins. If a finger is pressed along the vein from one valve to another as from node O to node H, in the direction away from the heart, the vein from O to H will be emptied of blood. It will remain empty since the valve at O does not permit the passage of blood away from the heart, but only towards it."

circulation of the blood which had been described by Servetus and in 1615 or 1616 he proved to his own satisfaction that there is a circulation of the blood through the whole body.

In Harvey's mind what clinched the matter was a conclusion to be drawn from measurements. He calculated the amount of blood that would be contained by the left ventricle of the heart, when distended, and multiplied that by the number of heart-beats in half an hour. The result was a larger amount of blood than the whole body could contain. Where did all that blood go to and where did it come from? There was only one answer. It was the same blood going around and around, out through the arteries and back through the veins.

Of this discovery of Harvey's, Charles Singer, professor of the history of medicine in the University of London, has written: "The knowledge of the circulation of the blood has been the basis of the whole of modern physiology and with it of the whole of modern rational medicine. . . . The blood, it was seen, is a carrier always going round and round on the same beat. What it carries, and why, how and where it takes up its loads, and how, where, and why it parts with them; these are questions the answering of which has been the main task of physiology in the centuries that have followed. As each of the questions has obtained a more and more rational answer, so clinical medicine has always made a step forward, and has come to approach more nearly to a true science. Thus it is that the work of Harvey lies at the back of almost every important medical advance."[1]

Harvey lived through the stirring times of the Civil Wars. He saw the battle of Edgehill but did not find it interesting, so he sat down behind a hedge and began reading a book, paying no further attention to the battle, until the battle made his hedge too hot for him. His judgments on other scientists were remarkably generous. Even when he had to refer to their mistakes, he emphasized their difficulties and praised them for doing the best they could. He felt a sort of brotherhood of scientific effort.

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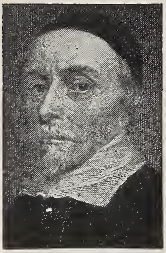
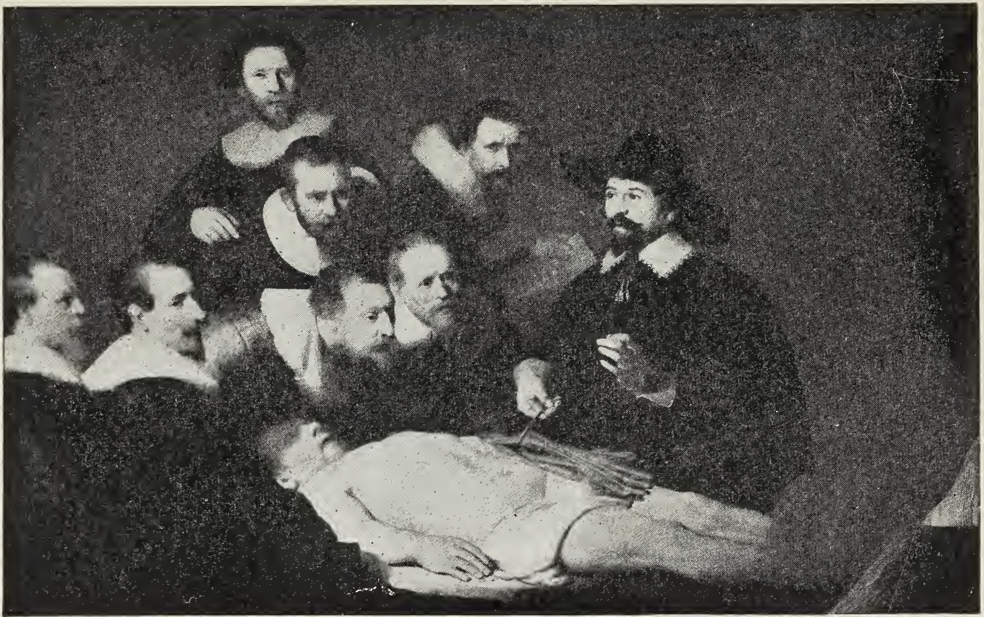
[1] Singer, Charles: *A Short History of Medicine* (Clarendon Press).



HARVEY

The Microscope. Harvey did not know *how* the blood passed from the arteries to the veins. His conviction that it did was the result of reasoning rather than of observation. Four years after his death the capillary blood-vessels were discovered by means of the microscope, of which Galileo had made the first scientific use. During this period the microscope also made possible the first observation of bacteria. In spite of great innovations, ordinary medical practice was still backward, from our point of view. Blood-letting was the most frequently employed treatment, and in this same seventeenth century a mysterious disease was named "influenza" because it was believed to be caused by the "influence" of the stars.

Flood of Scientific Discoveries. This was also a period of remarkable advance in mathematics, (including the introduction of decimals and logarithms, the invention of analytical geometry by Descartes and of the differential calculus by Newton), physics, chemistry (Robert Boyle, 1627-1691, is considered the father of modern chemistry), and biology. Sir Francis Bacon did more than anyone else to encourage the organization of scientific societies. In 1662 the famous Royal Society was founded. Writing near the end of the seventeenth century, the English poet Dryden said: "In these last hundred years . . . almost a new Nature has been revealed to us, more errors of the schools have been detected, . . . more noble secrets have been discovered than in all those . . . ages from Aristotle to us."



Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

LESSON IN ANATOMY

This was one of the earliest of Rembrandt's great paintings. Its date is 1632, sixteen years after Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood.

Scientific Method. One of the most important features of this scientific revolution was the development and general use of an improved scientific method. Bacon in writing on the subject, placed a tremendous emphasis on *induction* or inductive reasoning, that is, reasoning from a number of facts to a general conclusion, as over against *deduction*, or deductive reasoning, which is reasoning from general statements which are accepted as true to conclusions in regard to particular facts. Bacon achieved a great deal through this emphasis on induction, which came to be employed much more than it had ever been before. There was a general revolt, as has already been seen, against the old habit of taking for granted general statements from earlier writers and reasoning almost entirely from them. That does not mean, however, that deduction was dropped. Scientists had to employ it at every stage. Mathematics came to be *the* great basis for scientific thought and mathematics is largely deductive reasoning. The scientists of this period, and particularly Galileo, were working out in practice the modern scientific method, which is a combination of inductive and deductive reasoning, supplemented by imagination. The scientist for instance, after having collected a certain number of facts based on observation and experiment, forms an hypothesis. That is he conceives that a certain thing may be true and accepts that as a tentative supposition. He then proceeds to test that hypothesis by further observation and experiment and sometimes a good deal of mathematical calculation, as in the case of the great hypotheses of Kepler and Newton. Half a century before Newton's great work, Bacon's remarkable breadth of interest and the force of his enthusiasm and energy lit up the whole intellectual development of Europe.

CHAPTER XI

THE AGE OF REASON

The Age of Reason. During this period, and particularly in the eighteenth century, there was a remarkable enthusiasm among those who were intellectually alert, over the belief that man had discovered the laws of the universe. Human *reason* had unlocked the mysteries of nature—the mysteries of the starry heavens, of the human frame, of chemical action and reaction, of mechanics and dynamics. After a brief humiliation that came with the discovery of a new universe that seemed to make man so small, there came a great exaltation of man because he had achieved all this. Not only scientists, but philosophers and the authors of great literary works, dramatists, poets, novelists exalted reason to such an extent that one might think that Reason had taken the place of God. But that was not the case with most of these writers. It was God's way of doing things that had been suddenly discovered. Scientists and literary men alike talked about thinking God's thoughts after Him. And the slogan of the eighteenth century was "Nature and Nature's God."

The Reign of Natural Law. Nature was being explained in terms of law. As a professor of the history of science in the University of London has put it: "Wherever men have sought Law, they have found Law." The conception of natural law was not entirely new; the conception of the *universality* of natural law *was* new. It was the Frenchman Descartes (1596-1650), who led in the proclamation and popularizing of this idea of universality and also in the insistence that nothing should be accepted or believed that was not in accordance with reason.

The thinkers of that period undertook to make human life as well as physical nature subject to natural law. They believed that there was a law running through all human relations and under that law all men have certain "natural rights." When this conception moved into the field of political theory, it expressed itself in the supposed natural rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" (as in the American Declaration of Independence). These ideas helped to bring into being toward the end of the eighteenth century, a new science, called "political economy." Most of these economists followed the principle of *laissez-faire*, that is—let things take their course; let economic *laws* work out our happiness and interfere with them as little as possible.

The reign of law in human relationships is not at all so clear to us as it was to the eighteenth century. But we owe a great deal to the impetus given to political and economic study by the Age of Reason. The few simple truths of that time were inadequate. The Age of Reason failed to realize the complexity of human society.

The Idea of Progress. Impressed by the thought that the conquest of nature by man had just begun, it seemed to the thinkers of the Age of Reason that in the furtherance of that conquest and in following the guidance of natural law, humanity would be quickly raised to new heights and unexampled happiness. Through Science and Reason human life would achieve something like perfection. This ardent interest in the future stood in striking contrast to earlier times which had looked *backward* to a golden age. There was some looking forward in both the mediaeval and Renaissance periods but the *general* acceptance of a faith in steady and unexampled progress was a new development.

The English philosopher Locke (1632-1704) did much for the idea of progress with his theory that every one at birth started with nothing but a clean sheet of paper, as he put it, with nothing written on it. That meant that environment was everything, and as environment was bettered, men and women would attain an infinite improvement. Diderot wrote: "Nature wills that man should be perfectible" and another enthusiastic French writer went so far as to predict that in France thirty million Newtons would be produced and thirty million Shakespeares. In spite of the absurdities of the Age of Reason—including Locke's blank sheet of paper—real progress since that time owes much to "the idea of progress."

The Conception of Enlightened Despotism. The Age of Reason was still, in all except a few countries, the age of despotism. Since government was expected to help in the march of progress it was to absolute rulers that the enthusiasts had to turn. These monarchs must be fired with the new scientific and rational interests and speed their benevolent programmes in the nations of Europe. There was some response to this conception. Frederick the Great and Catherine the Great have been considered typical "enlightened despots." Certainly they were interested in culture and endeavoured to serve the cultural as well as the material interests of their people. Yet it is equally certain that the cynical Frederick had no faith in the "perfectibility" of the human race, and in general the enlightenment of the enlightened despots has been exaggerated both in that time and since.

Deism. A number of the intellectual leaders of the Age of Reason rejected a certain amount of historical Christian doctrine as unreasonable, and adopted what they called a "natural religion" corresponding to "natural law." They did not believe in revealed religion but they did believe in God as the creator of the universe and of life. They believed in encouraging virtue which God rewarded and combating vice which God punished. Because they believed in God but not in the body of Christian doctrine, they called themselves

Deists, rather than Christians. Yet they accepted the moral teachings of Christ which to them embodied "natural religion" in its highest form. A number of the political leaders of this period were Deists, including the French philosophers who prepared the way for the French Revolution. As a religion it was inadequate and hardly survived beyond the Age of Reason.

Religious Toleration. Religious toleration owed much to the spirit of Renaissance culture which emphasized the seeking of truth through investigation, which if it is to be effective must be *free* investigation, untrammeled by religious persecution. Erasmus believed strongly in a full religious toleration, and his influence in Holland particularly did much to account for a large measure of practical toleration in that country in the centuries that followed. We have already seen that the Anabaptist conception of religion was a potent source of religious toleration and that religious denominations that had an Anabaptist background were champions of complete religious liberty. That is particularly true of the Quakers and Baptists. Roger Williams (1604-1683) who is generally recognized as "the founder of complete religious tolerance in America" carried with him to America ideas which he had learned from Baptists in England. Where other Protestants drew the line at Catholics and Jews he included both and also included atheists. In 1636 he founded the colony of Providence (which developed into the state of Rhode Island) on a basis of complete religious liberty. His book *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution* published in 1644 did much for the cause of religious liberty in England as well as in America.

This movement for religious toleration was greatly strengthened in the Age of Reason. It was contended that if religion was to play its part in progress and the truth of religion could be determined only by reason, then there must necessarily be complete freedom of religious discussion. Locke's *Letters on Toleration* exercised a powerful influence on the thought of the time. He argued that since love is the basis of Christianity and no reasonable man can believe that persecution is a manifestation of love, any practice of persecution is inimical to Christianity.

Reaction Against the Undue Emphasis on Reason. Some one has said that most men cannot live by their minds alone. To which one is tempted to add that he feels sorry for anyone who can. It was inevitable that the tremendous emphasis on reason should evoke protests on behalf of other elements in human nature. In literature the reaction in favour of *feeling* was represented by the romanticists. In religion it found expression in the Wesleyan revival in the eighteenth century, the later Catholic revival in France, and the Oxford Movement of the nineteenth century in the Church of England. All of these have helped to shape the world in which we live, as have the substantial advances made in the Age of Reason.

Democratic Theory. The rationalism of this period as well as the civil war and revolution in England gave a great stimulus to political theory. But we are particularly interested in what was democratic in character. During the period parliamentary government was established in England, but not democracy, which means literally government by the people. A great deal was said by the supporters of parliament during the reign of Charles I about the right of the people rather than the king to govern England, but most of those who talked that way thought of the people as a sort of abstraction that in some way was supposed to be represented by parliament. If we think for a moment of "the people" as being made up of a number of *persons*, it is quite evident that a very high percentage of the male population of England did not have the right to vote for members of parliament and consequently were not represented by parliament. That is, the suffrage was closely restricted and was the privilege of a very few.

A brief reference has already been made to the outbreak of discussion over manhood suffrage democracy in Cromwell's army. (See page 61.) The soldiers who began that discussion got their original ideas of democracy from the practice of democracy in the Congregational and Baptist Churches to which they belonged, and in which everybody voted and the decision of the majority prevailed. But these soldiers used the conception of "natural law" and "natural rights" to strengthen their arguments. Discussions took place in an army council which consisted of the senior officers, two soldiers chosen by each regiment and two officers of each regiment. The senior officers were opposed to manhood suffrage. General Ireton argued that only property owners should vote because they were the only ones who had what was later called "a stake in the country." In reply to that Colonel Rainbarrow said in the language of that time: "The poorest he that is in England hath a life to live, as the richest he." Rainbarrow and his supporters added to the "natural rights" of life, liberty and the preservation of property, that were much talked of at that time, the "natural right" to vote. At that time hundreds of pamphlets were published in England advocating manhood suffrage democracy. This movement influenced later theory. It ultimately had a bearing on French democratic thought and the French Revolution, but did not bear fruit in any practical way at the time.

The Revolution of 1688 limited the power of the monarchy and established the supremacy of parliament. John Locke, who wrote his *Two Treatises on Government* to justify the revolution, was considered the greatest theorist of parliamentary government. What he really advocated was the sovereignty of the people as "the people" were *then* represented in parliament. He had a reputation which was second only to that of Newton in England and in Europe. The French writers who prepared the way for the French Revolution carried Locke's theories to what they considered their logical conclusions. But Locke himself was singularly inconclusive.

The theorist who enunciated at the end of this period a clear-cut theory of out-and-out democracy was Rousseau. But the results of the writings of Rousseau, Voltaire—who was the most brilliant champion of the test of reason for everything—and other French political philosophers, are so closely connected with the French Revolution, that they are reserved for the chapter on that experiment in practical democracy.

SUGGESTIONS

(For Chapters X and XI)

1. Add to your time chart the dates given in these chapters and: 1626—Death of Bacon.

2. Write a brief statement on the importance of the conception of universal natural law in the physical universe.

3. What are some of the difficulties in the attempt to apply the conception of universal law to human relations?

4. Write, after further reading, a short essay on one of the men mentioned in the chapters, or on the advances made in one of the sciences other than astronomy and medicine.

CHAPTER XII

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. NEW BRITISH COLONIES.

The American authors of a good recent history of the United States have written the following in regard to the American Revolution: "Competent students no longer believe that the British government wished to place the dependencies 'under absolute despotism'. The English people was the freest in Western Europe . . . and Englishmen beyond seas shared its liberty. The disruption of the empire was due, not to tyranny, but to very human blundering, some selfish shortsightedness, and the inability of each disputant to understand the other's point of view and adjust relations by mutual concessions."[1]

The Political Situation. Each British colony in America had an elective assembly, which meant British parliamentary government transferred across the seas. But the colonies were not democracies in our sense. At the time of the American Revolution the suffrage was everywhere enjoyed only by property owners. The colonial assemblies enjoyed a measure of legislative self-government, but the executive government was in the hands of a governor usually appointed by Great Britain, who also had a veto on legislation. The British government had the right to "disallow" colonial legislation. And the British Privy Council was the supreme court of appeal.

There was a certain amount of clash between the executive governments and the assemblies. The latter sought to control the former through the power of withholding financial supplies and thus holding up the salaries of governors, judges and other officials. The executives on the other hand tried to establish fixed "civil lists" which would provide for those salaries and other expenses over a term of years. Assembly leaders who had no responsibility for government and no prospect of being in office learned the habits of wild talk and of reckless fomenting of trouble which in the days immediately before the outbreak of the revolution carried the colonists further than many really wished to go. Unrest and dissatisfaction were frequently inflamed by British disallowance of the acts of colonial assemblies. This system represented generosity on the part of Britain and much more self-government than was enjoyed by the overseas subjects of any other European nation. It worked well at first but as these Britishers in America made their own way in their battle against nature on a new continent, encouraged towards free enterprise by a lack of governmental regulation severely enforced, and as they developed a healthy pride in the running of their own affairs, the political system became too restrictive and failed to develop responsible American statesmanship.

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[1] HOCKETT & SCHLESINGER: *Land of the Free* (Macmillan).

NEW HAMPSHIRE
SARATOGA
MASS
NEW YORK
CONNECTICUT
RHODE ISLAND
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW JERSEY
MARYLAND
DELAWARE
VIRGINIA
N. CAROLINA
S. CAROLINA
GEORGIA

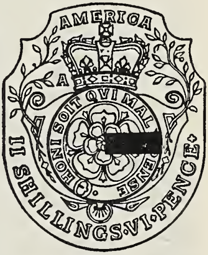
THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

Economic Restriction. The Navigation Laws and their restrictions on American trade have already been described (pp. 93, 101). Their continuance by the British government was associated with the idea of the empire as an economic unit, in which food products, raw materials, and other natural products would be supplied by the colonies and manufactured articles by Great Britain. The intention was to benefit the colonies as well as Great Britain, not only in the general scheme of trade, but also in the assistance given to colonial shipping and ship-building, since colonial ships were favoured on the same basis as British ships. Certainly, economically as well as politically, the American colonies were better treated than those of any European country. But the colonists, with a growing sense of freedom and a developing economy, desired to trade where and as they pleased. Politically and economically they developed something which if we cannot call it nationalism because of the lack of unity between the colonies, we may at least describe as a sense of self-determination and free self-expression.

The system of control was tightened in the half-century before the revolution by various British laws forbidding Americans to manufacture certain articles for sale outside the country, and limiting their manufacture of iron to bar and pig iron. The Molasses Act of 1733 placed duties, that were so high as to be practically prohibitory, on sugar and molasses imported from any quarter (including the French sugar islands which lay near at hand) except the British West Indies. This law, if enforced, would block a profitable trade between the colonies and the French West Indies, and would also make sugar and molasses dear in the colonies.

The colonial discontent was much less than it might have been because neither the Navigation Laws nor the Molasses Act were efficiently enforced. The Americans decided that if they could not trade as they pleased legally, they would do it illegally and a thriving smuggling trade developed. Revenue officers appointed by the British government did not dare, and in most cases did not wish, to make much effort to suppress it. One of these officers said that the most influential persons in the district where he was supposed to enforce the law were all relatives of his but if he really attempted enforcement his life would not be safe.

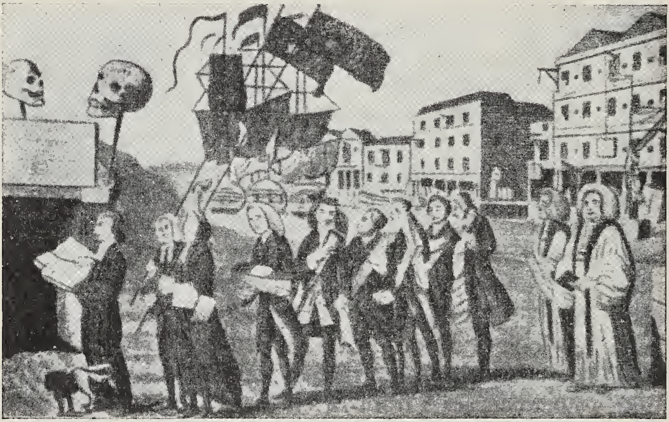
During the wars against the French, Great Britain and the colonies, fighting together, could not afford to quarrel. After they had defeated the French they could, and proceeded to do so. George Grenville, who became Prime Minister almost immediately after the signing of the treaty which closed the Seven Years' War, was determined to enforce the Navigation Laws. He also had a new Molasses Act passed which reduced the duties, and then issued orders for its strict enforcement. That would have caused an explosion, even if Grenville had not immediately followed it up by passing the famous Stamp Act.



Moon: Story of Our Land & People (Holt)

ONE OF THE STAMPS THAT CAUSED TROUBLE

Grenville's Stamp Act was a very reasonable measure from the British point of view. It appeared to be an easy way of raising the money that was necessary to pay only a part of the cost of a permanent British military force in America to protect the colonies from Indian risings. But the Americans had been accustomed to passing *internal* legislation in their own assemblies and this was an internal tax, not an external regulating of trade which they theoretically admitted that the British parliament had a right to do. Parliament, they argued, had no right to levy an internal tax. They raised the cry, "No taxation without representation." They were not represented in the British parliament; they were represented only in their own assemblies and there alone could an internal tax be voted. Their position was doubtful in *law* but "no taxation without representation" as an historical principle ran through the whole course of British development. Edmund Burke, who was just beginning his brilliant parliamentary career, said that parliament had the *legal* right to impose the Stamp Act, but it had no *moral* right to do so.



Strong: America Yesterday & Today (University of London Press)

FUNERAL OF THE STAMP ACT (A Contemporary Cartoon)

The rest of the story is a familiar tale. In the Stamp Act riots, the colonists attacked public buildings and the homes of tax-collectors. They destroyed the stamped paper and organized a boycott of British trade. The Stamp Act could not be enforced. In Great Britain, merchants, faced with the cutting off of their American trade, brought strong pressure on parliament to repeal the Stamp Act. Their cause and that of the colonists were championed in parliament by Pitt in a remarkable series of speeches. The Stamp Act was repealed. But parliament, flying in the face of warning by Pitt, followed that up by passing a Declaratory Act which asserted that it had the *right* to impose internal taxation on the colonies. Then a British minister, Townshend, taking the colonists at their word, imposed an *external* tax on certain goods entering American ports. The colonists then shifted their ground and denied that Great Britain had any right to regulate their trade.

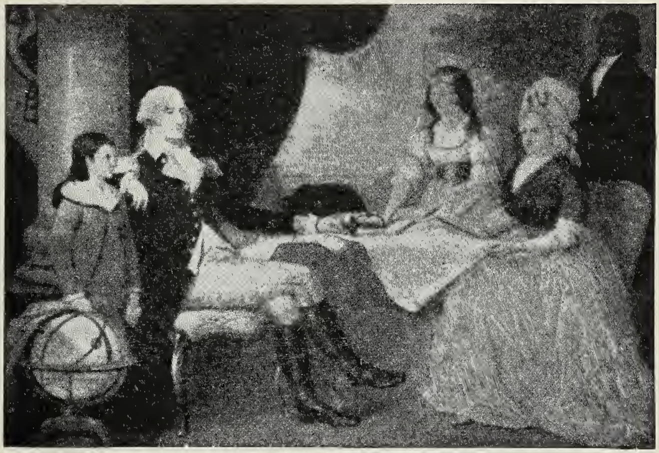
The colonists took steps to boycott British trade until the Townshend duties were withdrawn. The British parliament then withdrew them with the single exception of the duty on tea. The East India Company was at the same time helped by the cancelling of a duty on tea, collected at British ports when the tea was en route to America. So the colonists were to get their tea cheaper than they had got it before. At that point many moderately minded Americans felt that the British government had really surrendered to them in spite of the fact that it was saving its face by retaining a token duty. The question of principle however could still be urged and leadership in the colonies by this time was rapidly passing out of the hands of moderate men.

A band of youths dressed as Indians threw a cargo of tea into Boston harbour. The British parliament then passed four acts, closing the port of Boston, suspending the charter of Massachusetts, establishing military law and arranging for the sending of accused officials to England for trial. The Quebec Act was passed at the same time and became to the Americans the fifth of "the five intolerable acts." The others were intended to be temporary; the Quebec Act was to be permanent and appeared to indicate to the Americans definite British policy in relation to them. It placed under the government of Quebec the territory beyond the mountains which the colonies regarded as theirs by right and as affording them opportunity for expansion. It withheld an assembly, for reasons that were good at that time but which the colonists did not understand. They interpreted the action as despotic and suggestive of later despotism for them.

From the Chronicles of America Photoplays. By permission Yale University Press.

BOSTON TEA PARTY

The colonists through a Solemn League and Covenant declared that they would not trade with Great Britain until "the five intolerable acts" were withdrawn. That position, as well as the refusal to be taxed by the British parliament, was taken by a congress which met at Philadelphia in September 1774. The congress adjourned to meet in the following May but before that month came around the first shots had been fired at Lexington. The British were poorly prepared for war, having recently reduced their navy and being weak in military leadership and statecraft. The ablest public men sided with the colonies against George III and his government. The story of Britain's blunders during the war is almost beyond belief. The Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776.



Strong: America Yesterday & Today (University of London Press)

GEORGE WASHINGTON AND HIS FAMILY

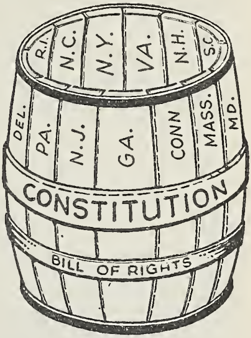
The capture of Burgoyne's army at Saratoga was the turning point in the war because it encouraged the French to come in on the American side. Spain and Holland later joined France, and Great Britain lost for the time being the control of the sea. The Americans were finally victorious under the leadership of George Washington. In 1783 the treaty of peace recognized the independence of the United States of America and ceded to them all territory between the Atlantic and the Mississippi, and from Florida to Canada.

The American States and the American Nation. Each American colony was now an American state, and each state had its own feeling of independence with a certain amount of friction and jealousy between them. Articles of union agreed to in 1781 declared that the union was a *confederacy* or league of states in which each preserved its "sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power not expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled." Congress was granted powers such as the declaration of war and the making of peace, the control of weights and measures, and the operation of a common postal system. There was no national power of taxation because the states refused to the confederacy the power to tax them just as they had refused it to the British parliament; they could be taxed only by their own assemblies.

A convention met in Philadelphia in May 1787. There was general agreement that a national government should have the power to tax and to regulate trade. Then other powers were added, and it was agreed that the states should retain all powers which the national constitution, which was in the process of formation, did not specifically assign to the national government. The small states put up a fight for equal representation of the states in the national legislature, but agreed to a compromise by which Congress should consist of two houses. The states were to be equally represented in the Senate and the number of members of the House of Representatives was to be proportional to the population of the various states.

A stronger national executive had to be provided and it was decided to elect a president of the United States. But the sentiment of democracy was not yet strong enough to permit of election by popular vote, so each state was to choose "electors" who would in turn select the president in an "electoral college." Amendments to the constitution were to require the vote of two-thirds of the members of both houses of Congress and ratification by three-quarters of the states. This constitution was adopted in 1788. A *federal* union (a united nation with distribution of powers to national and state governments) was thus substituted for a *confederacy* (a league of states).

The United Empire Loyalists in the American Colonies. The American Revolution brought to Canada and Nova Scotia the United Empire Loyalists. The story of the Loyalists begins, of course, in the thirteen colonies which revolted. At the time of the Stamp Act the colonists were practically united against the policy of the British government. When the controversy reached its later stages after a series of surrenders on the part of the British parliament, a difference of opinion developed between moderates and extremists. Many moderates at that stage became Loyalists later. There was a tendency in the northern and middle colonies for the more privileged class, officials, professional men, Anglican clergymen, to be more favourable to the British government. The exceptions were many and a large number of persons of humble birth and vocation swung to the British side of the controversy and later opposed the war and independence for conscience sake.



A HOOP FOR THE BARREL

A trade boycott against Loyalists was instituted, committees published lists of "the infamous betrayers of their country" and there was systematic tarring and feathering, varied by rail-riding and other amenities. Later governmental persecution came to be added to mob persecution. Loyalists were not allowed to appear in a court of law, nor to buy or sell, nor to make a will, and their property was everywhere at the mercy of their persecutors. They were haunted by spies. Some were imprisoned, and a few put to death.

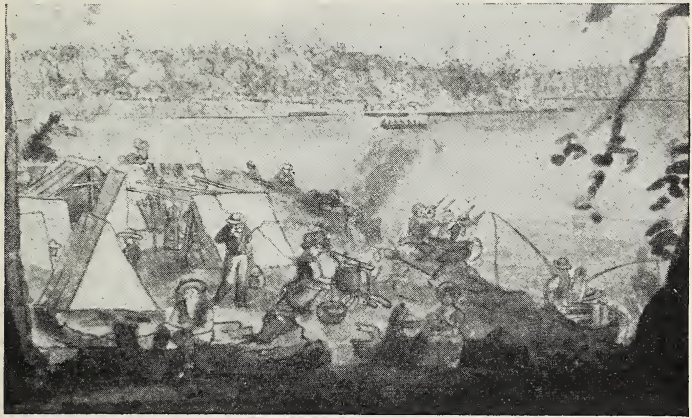
The Loyalists in Canada and Nova Scotia. There was a refuge for Loyalists in Canada and Nova Scotia of which a number availed themselves during the war. Immediately before and after the peace treaty of 1783 there were larger waves of settlement. By the end of 1783 thirty thousand Loyalists had arrived in Nova Scotia. In that year ten thousand settled in that part of the then Nova Scotia that was later New Brunswick, and in the first winter women and children died of cold in the tents banked up with snow.

Most of those who went to the older part of Canada moved on into the western part of that province, later Upper Canada. Some of those who went to Nova Scotia had been well off and had lost their wealth, but those who settled in Upper Canada were nearly all of humble birth and occupation.

In view of all the circumstances the British government was remarkably generous to the Loyalists in grants both of land and money. But their lot was a hard one and they faced it with exemplary courage. They lived in log cabins which had one room or two, a few windows covered with oiled paper, and a little home-made furniture. The cooking was done at open fire-places. Their garments were made of skin, with an occasional calico dress for a bride. Stewart Wallace closed his excellent book on the United Empire Loyalists with the very appropriate lines:

> Not drooping like poor fugitives they came
> In exodus to our Canadian wilds.
> But full of heart and hope, with heads erect
> And fearless eyes victorious in defeat.

The coming of the Loyalists to what was later the Dominion of Canada greatly increased the English-speaking population. Their devotion to Great Britain has persisted as an element in the national life. Their coming also led to the creation of two new provinces, New Brunswick in 1784 and Upper Canada, now Ontario, in 1791. The Loyalists had been accustomed to a large measure of legislative self-government.



John Ross Robertson Collection: Toronto Public Libraries

LOYALIST ENCAMPMENT AT JOHNSTOWN (now Cornwall)

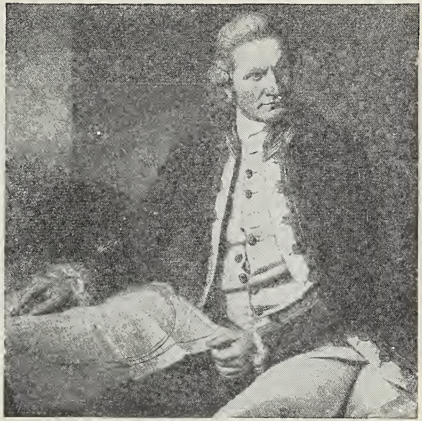
They were devoted to the conception of self-government and had been opposed only to war and complete independence. Almost the first thing they asked for in New Brunswick, and in Canada was a representative assembly, and the request could not be denied to them. (Nova Scotia had had a representative assembly since 1758.) The practical, cool-headed, moderate attitude which the Loyalists had assumed to controversy preceding the revolution, and their dauntless courage, made permanent contributions to our national character.

New British Colonies. Australia and New Zealand. The classical geographers of the ancient world had developed the idea that there must be a great mass of land, a continent, lying to the south of Asia or somewhere in the Southern Pacific. They called it "Terra Australis Incognita," the Southern Unknown Land. In 1605 a Spanish explorer set out to discover it. He reached an island of the New Hebrides in May 1606 and felt sure that he had reached the coast of the unknown continent. He gleefully sailed back to Europe, speaking of himself as a second Christopher Columbus.

In the same year, 1606, a Dutch explorer sailed along part of the coast of Australia. Having missed the Torres Strait, he believed that this land was part of New Guinea. In 1642 another Dutchman, Tasman, set out to find the great southern continent. He succeeded in sailing all around Australia without sighting it, but he did discover Tasmania and New Zealand. He believed that New Zealand was part of the great unknown continent.

So Australia had a hard time getting itself effectually discovered. Then came Captain Cook. In 1768 he was placed in command of an expedition of scientists who wished to go to Tahiti to observe a transit of Venus. He was also instructed to try to discover the lost continent and to explore as much of New Zealand as possible. Cook sailed around both the islands of New Zealand, proving that they *were* islands. He charted both islands carefully and also appears to have claimed New Zealand for Great Britain. He then sailed to Australia, explored the east coast, "which I am confident no European had seen before", and took possession of that coast "in the right of his Majesty King George III, by the name of New South Wales." On the shores of a bay on the southern part of that eastern coast, one of the scientists, Joseph Banks, found very interesting material for botanical study. So it was named Botany Bay. That was in April 1770.

On a later voyage Cook made a very thorough search for the unknown continent. He convinced himself that there was no continent in the south seas "unless it was near the Pole." He never knew the size of the island whose eastern coast he had explored. When that came to be known, it was called a continent and the name Australia was appropriately given to it.



Williamson: Builders of the Empire (Clarendon)

CAPTAIN COOK

In the meantime the American colonies had been lost by Great Britain. A frequent penalty imposed upon criminals had been transportation to the American colonies. Banks, the botanist of Cook's voyage, became Sir Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society, and in that influential position he suggested that Botany Bay would be a good place to which criminals might be transported. Consequently in 1787, seventeen years after the discovery of Botany Bay, Captain Phillip sailed with seven hundred and fifty criminals who became the first British settlers in Australia. They landed in Botany Bay in January 1788 but after some months were moved to Port Jackson, a little further north, and there the city of Sydney was founded. But Australia remained for Englishmen just a convenient prison in the south seas until John Macarthur established the sheep-breeding and wool-growing, on which Australian prosperity was founded. That came at a time when England needed raw wool for its expanding textile industry. Macarthur began his first experiments in 1796 but when he talked about the great possibilities of Australia in this respect nearly everybody said he was crazy. So he had to fight his battle single-handed and by 1822 he had convinced the world that he was right.

Photo: Australian News and Information Bureau

SHEEP FARMING IN AUSTRALIA

Settlement was made in Queensland in 1824 and in Western Australia in 1829. As more of the interior came to be explored, more land for sheep-raising was opened up. Men drove their herds into new territory in response to the economic demand for raw wool from the British factories.

The mountains saw them marching by;
They faced the all-consuming drought,
They could not rest in settled land,
Their faces ever westward bent
Beyond the farthest settlement,
Responding to the challenge cry
Of "better country farther out".[1]

While that was a strong feature in the development of the country, a few men in England were turning their thoughts to the need of a more systematic colonization of Australia. In 1829 there appeared a book entitled *A Letter from Sydney.* It was supposed to be written by an Australian colonist. It had actually been written in England by a man who had never seen Australia—Gibbon Wakefield. Land was given away in Australia too cheaply to those who were able to get there and to buy up large blocks, for which they could not obtain sufficient labour. Wakefield urged that the government should sell its land at a reasonable price and use the money to assist Englishmen in going out to Australia. They would then have to work on the land of others until by thrift they were able to pay the reasonable price for land of their own. He also urged the abolition of the transportation of criminals.

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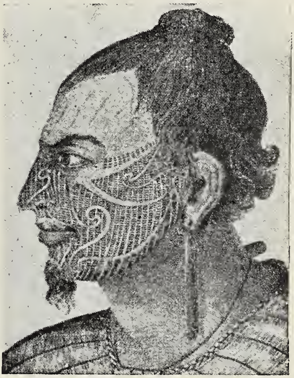
[1] HANCOCK, W. K.: *Australia* (Benn).


Morris & Wood: The English-Speaking Nations (Clarendon)

A MAORI CHIEF

The British government adopted Wakefield's ideas to a considerable extent. In 1833 he organized the South Australia Association. South Australia was established as a colony in 1836, Wakefield's principles of sale and emigration were applied in the main, and the introduction of convicts within its borders was prohibited. In 1840 transportation of criminals to Australia, except Tasmania, was abolished. (Special exceptions were later made in Western Australia.)

Up to 1837 there existed in Great Britain practically no interest in New Zealand, which, as somebody said, was "an enormous distance from anywhere." There was some whaling, some sealing, a small timber trade, and some missionary work among the native Maoris, but no British settlement that amounted to anything. In May 1837 Gibbon Wakefield organized the New Zealand Association with Lord Durham as chairman for systematic emigration to New Zealand. Durham did much for it and was its nominal head until his death. But the directing genius, the real founder of New Zealand, was Gibbon Wakefield.

When Wakefield and his associates were ready to send out colonists, the government, opposed to the plan, refused to afford them protection in New Zealand. But Wakefield would not be stopped. He sent off the expedition in 1839. Others followed and a number of settlements were established. A reluctant British government was obliged to undertake their protection, and New Zealand became in effect, for the first time, a British colony.

South Africa. In South Africa, Cape Colony had been purchased by Great Britain from Holland at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. A certain amount of organized British settlement followed the cession. The previous Dutch settlers were called Boers. The British government would have got along well with them if there had not been a difficult native problem. The Boers were not cruel to the natives but they were in the habit of treating them as inferiors and resented the efforts of the British government, stimulated by humanitarians in Great Britain, to give them rights similar to those of the white population. Moves in the direction of making English the official language also caused trouble. A spirit of nationalism was spreading through the Western world and the nationalist sentiment of the Boers was tough and stubborn. When the British Slavery Emancipation Act was passed, the Boers rightly objected to the inadequate compensation they received for their slaves. Many of them "trekked" out of Cape Colony seeking a country of their own. They captured Natal from the Zulus. But the British government, considering itself the guardian of the natives of South Africa, annexed Natal in 1843. It annexed other territory which the Boers had settled, but Great Britain recognized the independence of the Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State in 1852 and 1854 respectively.

SUGGESTIONS

1. In a new time chart for the period 1763-1850, arrange the dates given in this chapter under the countries concerned and add under "American Colonies": 1765—Stamp Act.

2. If there had been a Lord Durham and a Lord Durham's Report for the American colonies in 1775, would it have prevented the American Revolution?

3. Write a short essay on George Washington.

4. Read further on early life in Australia and discuss the hardships and difficulties of those days.

5. Obtain information about one Loyalist group which settled in Upper Canada and write a brief essay on that group.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The Old Regime in France. The King and the Nobility. In a brief sketch of the French monarchy and nobility before the outbreak of the Revolution, little needs to be added to the picture of Louis XIV's government and court, which has been presented in a previous chapter. In the seventy-four years between the death of Louis XIV and the beginning of the revolution the same system had been maintained. There was some change for the worse. Where Louis XIV had given careful attention to the business of the state, Louis XV and the Regent who ruled for a while spent their time more frivolously; that meant that a bureaucracy of officials ruled France but the king's will, when it was appealed to, settled everything and his decisions were fickle and uncertain. So much depended on the influence on the royal mind of the courtiers who were closest to him, that ministers were constantly bribing and seeking the favour of the king's favourites. That increased the large number of pensions and sinecures that went to the friends and relatives of courtiers. One youth, for instance, received a large salary for an office whose sole duty was to sign his name twice a year. The royal favourites were also able to secure very easily from the king *lettres de cachet*, which were orders to arrest the person named in the letter and have him imprisoned until further notice, which frequently meant till death. These *lettres de cachet* were conveniently employed against personal enemies and unruly members of families.

The extravagance of the absolute monarchy was an important factor in a situation where the middle and lower classes paid nearly all the taxes. An historian of the French Revolution has given this description of the king's personal service on the eve of the Revolution: "Eighty persons were in attendance on the Princess Elizabeth when she was a month old. . . . The king had 1857 horses, 217 vehicles, 1458 men in liveries. In 1786 there were 150 pages in the palace . . . 383 officers of the table, 103 waiters, 198 persons for the personal domestic service of the king."[1] That was for the palace of Versailles alone. The king had twelve other palaces each with its army of servants.

Since the Estates-General did not meet in this period, the only possible check on the absolute monarchy lay in the *parlement* of Paris, a law-court in which the king's decrees were registered. But it seldom refused to register and the king had his own means of circumventing it.

Conditions among the nobility in general were much as they had been in the reign of Louis XIV. It should be added that the noble families held almost a monopoly of the good appointments in the church and a complete monopoly of commissions in the army. No one could be a second lieutenant whose great-great-grandfather had not been a nobleman.

The Clergy. The inhabitants of France were divided into three *estates*. The First Estate was the clergy, the Second Estate the nobility, and the Third Estate included all who were neither clergy nor noble. Some of the higher clergy were conscientious, but too many were worldly, immoral and extravagant as were their brothers in the nobility. One cardinal had an income of $200,000, a palace with hundreds of rooms and 180 horses in his stables. A high official in the church received a salary of over $11,000 a year, lived at the court and paid another clergyman $210 a year to do his work for him. These high appointments in the church were almost as much a matter of royal favour as the pensions and sinecures.

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[1] MATHEWS, SHAILER: *The French Revolution* (Longmans).

The lower clergy, on the other hand, were very poor. They sprang from the lower classes and sympathized with them. They took their duties seriously, looked after the cure of souls, and were to their parishioners, in many other respects, guides, counsellors and friends.

The Middle Class. There was dissatisfaction everywhere except in those upper classes who enjoyed all the privileges and escaped most of the burdens, including an almost complete exemption from taxation. But it was in the middle class alone that dissatisfaction was clarified and formulated definite aims. The middle class wanted social equality or at least social standing commensurate with their wealth; a voice in government; and greater equality of taxation. Nearly all of the leaders of the Revolution came from the middle class.

The Lower Classes. While the lower classes did not create the French Revolution, they supported it when it came and hoped for great things from it. The French peasants were not nearly so badly off as the German peasants nor so badly treated. Although worse off than the English peasants, they were in a favourable position in relation to those of any other part of Europe. From our point of view and from what came to be the point of view of the Revolution, their lot was a miserable one. But their feeling before the Revolution was not one of oppression so much as it was a sense of extreme inequality and unreasonable nuisances. The burden of taxation fell heavily upon them because the privileged classes —the clergy and nobles—were almost entirely exempt from taxation. All but a few had been freed from serfdom long before this, but there were irritating left-overs from feudalism and serfdom. They were, for instance, still required to have their grain ground at the lord's mill, the lord taking his share of the product. Under changed conditions that was an intolerable nuisance. And in many cases the lord had no mill but the peasant had to make a payment because of a mediaeval custom. The peasants were also required to do forced labour on the roads. In some parts of the country another old custom was that of the peasants being required to beat the marshes to keep the frogs quiet when the lady of the chateau was ill. What that amounted to in many cases under changed conditions was an obligation to beat marshes which did not exist and in which therefore there could be no frogs, to help a lady who was not at the chateau but hundreds of miles away at Versailles. Yet the peasant was required to make a payment to his landlord because of the old custom. And thoughtless landlords might occasionally hunt over the peasant's lands regardless of his crops. On account of the exemption of the privileged orders, a heavy burden of taxation fell on the peasants as well as on the middle class. The tax on salt, a necessity of life, was particularly unjust and unpopular.

The number of workingmen in the towns and cities was small in comparison with the total population. But the day labourers and apprentices worked for long hours at low pay, and as the victims of an unreasonable inequality they too were to give active support to the revolution.

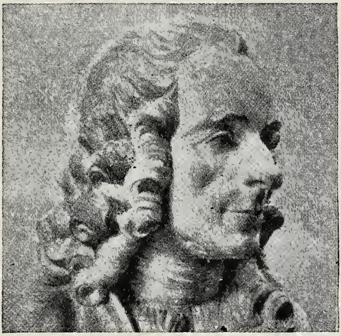
The Philosophers. Voltaire (1694-1778). The writers who prepared the way for the French Revolution were called *les philosophes* although they were not philosophers in the full sense of that term. Francois Marie Arouet who, for some unknown reason added Voltaire to his other names, was the son of a lawyer. He began his literary career by writing poetry. At twenty-four he was clapped into the Bastille, the most famous political prison in Paris, for a poem ridiculing the Jesuits and others, which in fact he did not write. Shortly after his release his first play was staged and his reputation was assured. Then one evening a nobleman enquired in a loud voice (knowing very well the answer to his question):

"What is the name of that young man who is talking so much?" "My lord," replied Voltaire, "he is one who does not carry about a great name, but wins respect for the name he has." The nobleman's hand went to his cane, Voltaire's to his sword. Then an actress, who had learned to do so effectively on the stage, fainted, and prevented a "scene." A few days later the noble had his lackeys seize Voltaire and administer a caning to him. Voltaire urged all his friends to have something done about it. But he did not have "influence". So he went to a fencing school and assiduously took lessons. He would challenge his adversary to a duel. The nobleman however would not fight a duel with Voltaire, who was middle class. Instead he procured a *lettre de cachet* and had Voltaire imprisoned in the Bastille again.

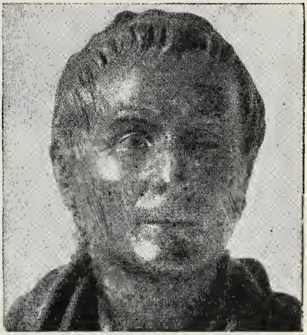
Voltaire was freed on condition that he leave the country. He went to England where he lived for nearly three years. He was struck by the religious liberty that prevailed there, by the freedom that Englishmen enjoyed to speak their minds on any subject. He saw Newton's funeral. Here was a country where a great scholar was buried like a prince. In England brilliant young men were not caned in the streets without redress, or sent to prison for saying what they wanted to say. Voltaire returned to France determined that his own countrymen should be freed from the privilege, custom, and prejudice that enslaved them. He wrote a book entitled *Letters on the English.* Voltaire's tremendous influence on the educated class of his day owed much to his scintillating wit and mordant humour, his caustic satire and brilliant phrase-making. It owed most to the versatility of Voltaire's writings—poetry, plays, scientific works, literary criticism, novels, history, and essays on his own time. He was sure to catch the attention of anyone who read anything. Voltaire was the most brilliant product and the most spirited champion of the Age of Reason. What was unreasonable was to be destroyed;

what was reasonable should be retained. Voltaire could say that more cleverly than anybody else and could get a larger audience. And for the old regime in France that was dynamite.

He was at his best in his struggle against religious persecution. For Voltaire religious freedom was only one form of complete freedom of expression. There is a famous story of his having written a letter in which he said something like this: "I entirely disagree with what you wish to say, but I will fight to the death if necessary to secure to you the right to say it." The story may not be true. But that was the spirit of Voltaire!



VOLTAIRE



Nicholls: Europe in the Eighteenth Century (Harrap)

ROUSSEAU

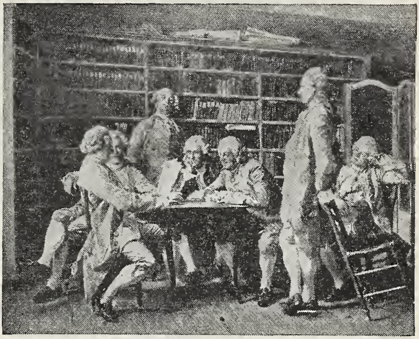
Voltaire's great weakness was lack of sympathy. His religious attitude is an illustration of that. He had no real understanding of the Christianity which he attacked, or of the constructive work of the Church. He was a Deist and built a chapel to "the God of Voltaire", but his writings betray an insensibility to the deeper spiritual experiences which are described in the Bible and have been repeated in the lives of good Christians of all generations.

Voltaire did a great deal for the reform of the criminal law, inspiring English reformers in that direction. He urged equality before the law, but he did not believe in democracy. He wished to see reform carried out under an enlightened monarchy.

Rousseau. (1712-1778). While Voltaire's influence was more generalized, the influence of Rousseau on the French Revolution was more direct and that was particularly true of the political theories developed by the latter. In his writings Jean Jacques Rousseau revolted strongly against reason. He wrote with his feelings and too often with what was not so much healthy feeling as sentimentality. But he was a good popularizer and he reached men's hearts as surely as Voltaire reached their heads. Apart from a lively pen that could make statements that kept men discussing them for hours, his strength lay in the fact that, unlike Voltaire, he really sympathized with the sufferings of the common people, and saw things in their lives that were good.

The Age of Reason had emphasized Nature and Reason. Rousseau turned his back on Reason and glorified Nature. It was absurd for him to say that by nature man was born free and civilization enslaved him; but it must be recognized that there was a good bit of slavery about the old regime in France. It was equally absurd to say that the virtues of purity, justice and humanity are natural virtues, which are to be found only in cottages; but there was inherent good in the common people and they had been neglected. It was largely due to his writings that they asserted themselves in the French Revolution and that their rights and needs came to be recognized. Rousseau's *Emile* contained extreme statements about letting nature have its way in education, but here as elsewhere the extreme statements caught men's attention, and a few sound principles have had a regenerating effect on education ever since.

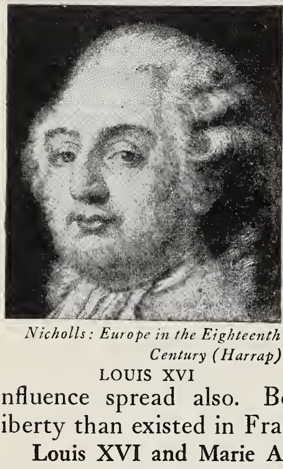
The English philosopher Hobbes had championed the inherent right of the king to exercise sovereignty and had taught that that sovereignty was inalienable; that is, the king could not give it to anybody else if he wanted to. The English writer Locke had developed a limited doctrine of the right of the people to exercise sovereignty. Rousseau cleverly put these ideas together; sovereignty was inalienable, yes; but sovereignty resided in the people. "The inalienable sovereignty of the people" became a slogan of the French Revolution. Rousseau went further than Locke in advocating the sovereignty of the people. The sovereign people, for him, was made up of *individuals*. Each individual as a subject was to obey the will of the sovereign people of which he was a member; therefore, he was to obey himself and in obeying his own will he would be free. The will of the people, which Rousseau called "the general will" was to be expressed by the vote of the majority, and he was confident that it would seek the general good. Rousseau's book, *The Social Contract*, became the Bible of the French Revolution, and just as texts from the Bible are quoted, so the orators of the Revolution quoted the statements of Rousseau.



Culver Service

THE ENCYCLOPEDISTS

Diderot (1713-1784) and the Encyclopedists. Denis Diderot wrote a number of books but his great work was the editorship of the Encyclopedia. While not the first work of its kind, it was the most extensive. Diderot's idea was to attack the old regime with facts. He wrote eleven hundred and thirty-nine of the articles himself and determined the point of view of the whole work, which was rationalist and democratic. "On every page was inscribed the watchword of the age: Reason." It attacked the unjust system of taxation, religious intolerance, the cruel criminal law, and slavery. It became an arsenal of weapons and ammunition for the leaders of the revolution.



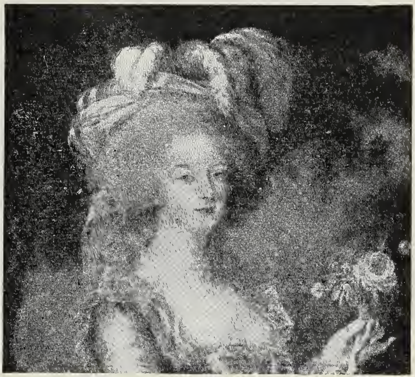
Nicholls: Europe in the Eighteenth Century (Harrap)

LOUIS XVI

The Spread of Revolutionary Thought. The ideas of the *philosophes* were spread throughout France not only directly by their books, but indirectly also by clubs among the educated class, the sermons of the lower clergy (to some extent), travelling shows, country lawyers. Men read Rousseau in public to those who could not read. British and American influence spread also. Both countries enjoyed much more liberty than existed in France.

Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. The rulers who faced the storm had had little to do with causing it. But their blunders at times quickened its tempo. Louis XVI was a good man, well intentioned, but dull and slow-witted. Frequently when the conversation reached a subject that was not altogether simple, it was discovered that the king was asleep. His Austrian queen, Maria Theresa's daughter, was superficially clever but lacking in judgment. She had never been well liked at court, and her friends were the wrong friends. The queen and her associates gave bad advice to the king. Neither king nor queen had any real knowledge of the mass of Frenchmen who lived outside of the court.

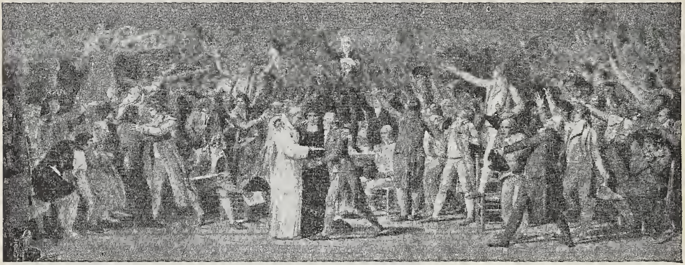
The Revolution Begins. Meeting of the Estates General. The real causes of the Revolution have been indicated in the preceding pages. The occasion for its start was the financial difficulty that faced the government. A number of ministers tried various expedients. The conviction grew that the only solution lay in making the privileged class pay their share of taxation. Then the *parlement* of Paris refused to register decrees for new taxes on the old basis and suggested the calling of the Estates General, a body of representatives of the three estates, which had not met for a hundred and seventy-five years. The country took up the cry, "The Estates General." At last the king consented to call them. They met at Versailles on May 5, 1789 and that has always been taken as the beginning of the French Revolution, although no one recognized it as such at the time. There was a general feeling however that the Estates General would draw up a constitution. And the people were hopeful that the representatives of the Third Estate would do something for them. One of the pamphlets sent through France at this time said: "What is the Third Estate? Everything. What has it been hitherto? Nothing. What does it ask? To become something."



Nicholls: Europe in the Eighteenth Century (Harrap)

MARIE ANTOINETTE

The representatives of the Third Estate were elected on a broad tax-paying basis. The Third Estate had been given six hundred representatives, the other two three hundred each, but the government had left undecided the question of how they should vote. The clergy and nobles urged that, as had been done one hundred and seventy-five years before, the three estates should sit and vote separately, each having one vote, two of the three votes deciding. The Third Estate insisted that the three estates should sit together and vote "by head", each question to be decided by a majority vote of the whole.



Hazen: Modern European History (Holt)

THE TENNIS COURT OATH

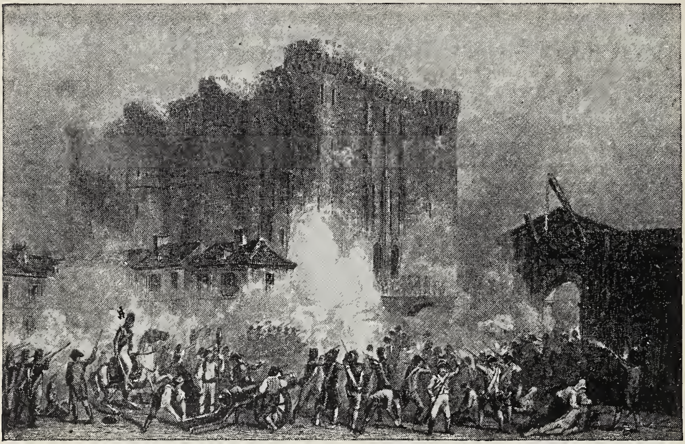
The National Assembly. The three estates at first sat separately but the Third Estate remained in the hall in which all had met for an opening session. They invited the others to join them and on their refusal the Third Estate declared itself on June 17th the National Assembly of France. The king decided to address all three estates in a "royal session" on the 23rd. When the representatives of the Third Estate went to the hall on the 20th they found the doors guarded by soldiers and heard carpenters hammering inside preparing the hall for the royal session. After standing around for a while in the rain some one reported that there was an indoor tennis-court nearby in which they could meet. They went there and one by one took the famous Oath of the Tennis Court—that they would not dissolve until they had given France a constitution.

In the royal session the king promised some reforms and ordered each of the estates to meet separately elsewhere. The clergy left the hall, the nobles left, the Third Estate remained. The Grand Master of Ceremonies said: "Gentlemen, you have heard the orders of the King." Mirabeau, a nobleman who had been elected by the Third Estate and was destined to be the greatest orator of the Revolution, rose and shouted: "Go and tell those who sent you that we are here *by the will of the people* and that bayonets alone shall drive us hence." Two days later more than half of the clergy joined them (the lower clergy supported the Third Estate), then some nobles. On the 27th the King ordered the first and second estates to join what he now recognized as the National Assembly, which was to vote "by head". The Third Estate had won the first round. It had indeed "become something."

The Capture of the Bastille. A group headed by the Queen and the King's brother persuaded the King to mass troops around Versailles, Swiss and German mercenaries. Mirabeau might get his bayonets yet. That was followed by the dismissal of Necker, a popular minister who was siding with the Third Estate.

A crowd of Parisians always gathered on Sunday in the garden of the Palais Royal. On Sunday, July 12th, a young journalist named Camille Desmoulins came running into the garden, jumped on a table, shouted "Necker has been dismissed," and made a fiery speech. The mob started to riot, broke open gunshops and armed themselves. They continued looking for arms for two days and on the 14th some one said that there was a great store of arms and ammunition at the

Bastille, an old fortress used as a prison, where many a man had been sent by a *lettre de cachet.* The garrison made an attempt at a defence of the Bastille but when a disaffected regiment of soldiers joined the mob, the garrison surrendered and the crowd captured the Bastille. It was not an heroic achievement but this Paris revolution saved the National Assembly. On the following day the King announced that the troops would be withdrawn from Versailles and that Necker would be reinstated. Later the capture of the Bastille came to be glorified and the French people to this day celebrate their great national holiday on the anniversary of that event.



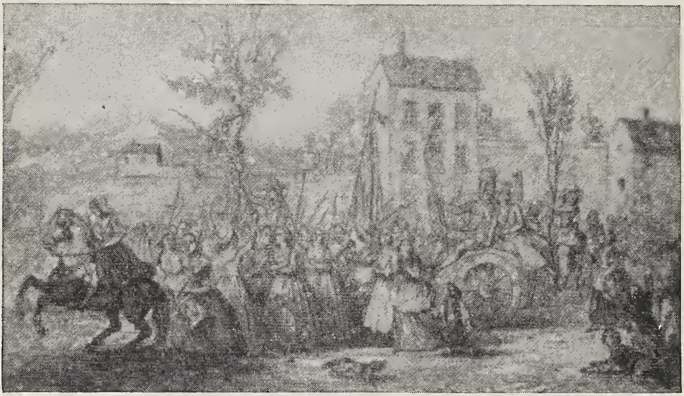
Brown Brothers

THE STORMING OF THE BASTILLE

The Night of the Fourth of August. Following the capture of the Bastille, the peasants revolted throughout the country. That was partly due to panic and vague rumours that they were to be attacked. But as the Paris mob had hunted for arms, the peasants began to break into the manor-houses and chateaux and hunt for the records of the hated obligations to which they were subject. They destroyed them and frequently destroyed the manor-houses with them. Then unexpectedly in the National Assembly on the night of August 4th noble after noble got up and proposed the abolition of this and the abolition of that until, with slight exceptions, all feudal and manorial rights were swept away forever. That was one of the most substantial achievements of the Revolution.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man. In that August of 1789 the National Assembly drew up the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. While much of it was submerged in the turmoil of a few years later it is, as a statement of the principles of the Revolution, important for its influence on later France and on other nations. The ideas of the *philosophes* and particularly of Rousseau, can be easily recognized in the following sentences: "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. . . . The source of all sovereignty is essentially in the nation. . . . Law is the expression of the general will. All citizens have the right to take part personally or by their representatives in its formation. It must be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. All citizens being equal in its eyes, are equally eligible to all public dignities, places, and employments, according to their capacities, and without other distinction than that of their virtues and their talents." It also declared for freedom of speech and of the press, freedom from arbitrary arrest, and partially for religious liberty.

Insurrection of the Women. While the National Assembly was proceeding to limit the king's power and draw up a constitution, the King again began to mass foreign mercenary troops around Versailles. And again the Paris mob intervened. This time it was the women. Food transportation was difficult and bread particularly was scarce and dear in Paris. The people believed that the King, who loved his people, would do something about it, if they could speak to him, and they could free him from the evil influence of the Queen and her friends. The women wanted bread; the Paris politicians who probably planned the whole affair wanted the King in Paris where he would be surrounded by the people, rather than in Versailles, where he was surrounded by the nobles. So a mob of women started off on the twelve miles to Versailles. They were followed hours later by a force of militia who supported them. There was a skirmish at Versailles, the women cheered the King and hissed the Queen, and then brought them to Paris, shouting gleefully: "We have the baker, and the baker's wife and the baker's little boy. Now we shall have bread." From that time on the King was virtually a prisoner in Paris. The National Assembly followed the King to Paris, where its successors were to be dominated by the Paris mob.



Brinton: A Decade of Revolution (Harpers)

THE WOMEN ON THE WAY TO VERSAILLES

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy. In June 1790 the National Assembly abolished all titles. All now went by the simple names of Citizen or Citizeness. Shop signs read "Ici tout est citoyen." The nobility had now lost all its privileges, and even its property was not too secure. The property of the Church was not secure at all. In that same year, facing a financial crisis, the National Assembly transferred to the state all the property of the Church. At the same time it promised to see that the Church's religious, educational and charitable work was maintained. It proceeded to make the priests civil servants by paying them state salaries. And henceforth priests were to be elected to their office by the people of their parishes and bishops by the people of their dioceses, Protestants, Jews, Deists, and those who had no religion voting with the rest. When the clergy were asked to take the oath to obey this Civil Constitution of the Clergy, about half of the parish priests refused to do so. Only seven of the hundred and thirty-five bishops took the oath. So the clergy was divided into the "constitutional" clergy and the "non-juring" clergy. The latter were permitted to conduct services but were dependent on voluntary financial support.

The Flight to Varennes. On the evening of June 20, 1791, a party left Paris for the frontier with passports for a Russian baroness, her valet, her governess and her two children. Next morning the people of Paris discovered that they had no king or queen. A joker put a "To Let" sign on the palace. At midnight that second night at a little village near the frontier a valet put his head out of a carriage to see what was the cause of the delay. The village postmaster, who had put his head out of a window, looked at the valet, looked at some money, looked at the valet again, and decided that he had seen the King. He lost no time, took a short cut to the frontier town of Varennes and had the "baroness's" party intercepted.

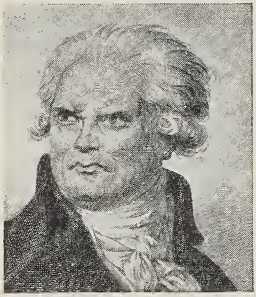
As a result of this attempt at flight, to conspire with the foreign enemies of France to crush the revolution, public opinion turned strongly against the King. He was convicted by his own hand because when he left the palace, the King, like suicides, had left a note behind him. It left no doubt in regard to his opposition to the Revolution. A few extremists (key men later, Danton, Robespierre, Marat) now waged the first republican campaign, but republicanism was not yet popular. And the mood of the National Assembly which took over the whole government, is reflected in the placards which read: "Whoever applauds the King will be flogged; whoever insults him will be hanged."

Establishment of the Constitutional Monarchy. In the autumn of 1791 the National Assembly completed its work of preparing a constitution for France. By that constitution the King's executive power was limited and he was restricted to a "suspensive veto" on legislation for a period of two years. The legislative power was placed in the hands of a Legislative Assembly, which was to be elected indirectly by propertyholders.

The Legislative Assembly. France at War. The Legislative Assembly met for the first time on October 1, 1791. By this time a number of noblemen had left the country and were trying to stir up Austria and Prussia to attack France and enable a counter-revolutionary movement to restore the old order of things. The rulers of both countries were anxious to crush the revolution before it spread. Within the Assembly a war party developed. The group of deputies known as the Girondins, because several of their leaders came from the department of the Gironde, led the movement for war. They were thinking that Austria and Prussia would attack France in any case and France should strike first. But they were also aglow with missionary enthusiasm to spread the principles of the Revolution to other countries and, as they put it, to help all peoples to throw off the yoke of their tyrants. The King and Queen and their friends wanted war but for a very different reason. They believed that France would be defeated and the Revolution crushed. Both before and after the outbreak of war they were in treasonable communication with the enemies of France. The suspicion that that was the case grew as the war went on.

France declared war against Austria on April 20, 1792, and Prussia immediately joined Austria. The Austrians and Prussians invaded France and were well on their way to Paris when their commander, the Duke of Brunswick, issued a manifesto declaring that if any harm came to the King or Queen he would totally destroy Paris. That strengthened the growing feeling that the King was leagued with the enemies of France, and a movement started in Paris for the dethronement of the King. The Legislative Assembly refused to give way to it and the Paris leaders threatened to attack the royal palace.

Insurrection of the 10th of August. Establishment of Manhood Suffrage. Collapse of Constitutional Monarchy. Paris was up all night on the 9th of August. By the dawn of the 10th the Paris mob was armed. A revolutionary Commune was substituted for the previous government of the city. The mob attacked the royal palace (the Tuileries) in much the same spirit as it had attacked the Bastille. In the lead was a detachment of soldiers from Marseilles, who had marched into Paris two weeks before, singing a martial song that Parisians had never heard before, the *Marseillaise*. The King and Queen fled to the adjacent hall of the Assembly. No one was willing to fight for the King except his Swiss Guard, who in their gallant defence of the palace were nearly all cut down. The mob swept into the Assembly and demanded that the King be dethroned. The Assembly compromised by suspending the royal power, but, in fear of the mob, they also scrapped the constitution which had established a constitutional monarchy, and prepared for the election of a convention to draw up a new constitution, declaring that the members of the convention were to be elected by manhood suffrage.



Bradby: French Revolution (Clarendon Press)

DANTON

In the meantime an Executive Council was to take the place of the King. It came to be dominated by Danton who for a few months exercised a war dictatorship. Danton was a man of extraordinary force and vigour, a remarkable orator, and a man of practical rather than doctrinaire outlook. He showed his real greatness during these months in his successful organizing of the war effort. In his most famous speech he shouted in a voice that could be heard blocks away: "Daring, more daring, and still more daring, and France is saved."

Every man capable of fighting was leaving for the front and a panic seized Paris. The prisons were packed with political prisoners, the French enemies of the Revolution. Men about to leave Paris said to one another: Shall we go to fight the enemy and leave these enemies at home to break out of prison in a defenceless Paris and murder our wives and children? Hastily improvised committees entered the prisons and with the speediest of "trials", a thousand prisoners were executed in five days. These were the terrible September Massacres, inexcusable but apparently not the idea of any one man or group of men. On the day the Convention assembled the invasion was checked.

The Convention. The National Convention met on September 20, 1792. As everyone expected, practically the first act of the Convention was to abolish monarchy and declare France a republic. A Paris newspaper described the scene: "Cries of applause, hats thrown into the air, oaths to make an end of all tyrants together, cries of 'Vive la liberté et l'égalité'."

In the Convention the Right was occupied by the Girondins, the Left by the party known as the Jacobins or the Mountain, and the Centre by a large number of undecided members for whose support the Girondins and the Jacobins contended. The Girondins feared the control of the Revolution by the city of Paris; they favoured strengthening the local governments of the departments. The Jacobin leaders, Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, looked to the support of the common people of Paris as the basis of their power. They favoured the largest possible centralization of government in Paris. The Girondins appear to have been irresolute, especially in crises, lacking unity and strong leadership. The Jacobins knew exactly what they wanted and were vigorously led.

The first clash between these parties in the Convention came over the question—What shall be done with the ex-king? The Jacobins had an easy answer: put him to death. The Girondins wished to save him, could have done so, and failed. He was placed on trial for treason. There was no doubt of his guilt. The next question was that of penalty. The Jacobins voted for death, the Girondins' vote was divided. On January 21, 1793, Citizen Louis Capet, formerly King of France, was executed. As the knife of the guillotine fell the crowd that had so frequently cried "Vive le roi" shouted "Vive la nation."

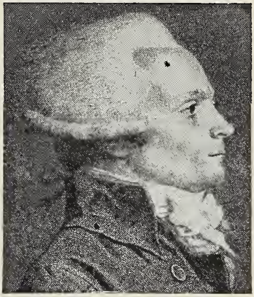
In the Convention the Girondins launched a bitter personal attack against Marat, who was very popular in Paris. The Paris mob again asserted itself. It insisted on the expulsion and arrest of thirty-one Girondin members, surrounded the Convention and refused to let anyone out until the Convention did its will. Several of the arrested members escaped from Paris and with other Girondins put on a speaking tour through the country, urging the people to rise and save the Convention from the tyrants. A girl from Caen in Normandy, Charlotte Corday, went to Paris, purchased a butcher's knife and put an end to one "tyrant", Marat. As Charlotte Corday was executed, one Girondin said to another, "She has sent us all to our deaths. But she has taught us how to die." Almost immediately fifty-five Girondin members of the Assembly were proscribed and imprisoned, and three months later over twenty were executed.

Expansion of the War. In the meantime victorious French armies were invading Belgium and capturing Antwerp. France opened the Scheldt river to free navigation in violation of a treaty. The restriction had been in the interest of Holland and Great Britain. France was well on her way to establishing the Rhine as her frontier and might not be satisfied to stop even there. All of these events threatened the stability of Europe. As we have seen, it had been a fixed principle of British foreign policy that France should not have Belgium and particularly Antwerp. Those considerations and the treaty violation brought Great Britain into the war against France early in 1793. Britain was joined by Holland, acting in self-defence, and Spain. Faced with those states, in addition to Austria and Prussia, the war situation became a very serious one for France. By the summer of 1793 foreign armies were again on French soil.

The Terror. We may think of the Terror as going into operation in the summer of 1793, although the machinery which it used had come into being a few months before that. At its head was the Committee of Public Safety, a group of from nine to sixteen men, only nominally responsible to the Convention, who took over control of the government. A well organized terrorist organization was developed throughout France.

One of the first victims of the Terror was Marie Antoinette. In prison she was hardly a menace to the Republic, but on her record she had been the most active and dangerous of traitors, and it seemed inconsistent with the new spirit of equality to execute others for treason and let her go free because she had been a queen. So the Widow Capet went to the guillotine. She went with dignity and courage. The Girondins, already referred to, followed.

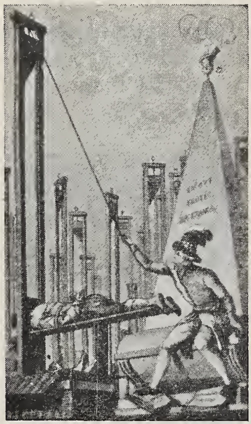
The Terror was mainly caused by the dangers presented by the war; treason, counter-revolution, violation of rationing rules, "black markets" must, the Jacobin leaders urged, be suppressed at all costs. Danton who had created the Committee of Public Safety, but was later dropped from it, had given support to the Terror from that point of view. But when the war proved so successful that French armies were again everywhere on the aggressive and revolts at home were suppressed, Danton took the position that the Terror was no longer necessary. Robespierre and his colleagues on the Committee of Public Safety insisted that if the Terror were modified, counter-revolution would sweep away the Republic.



Bradby: French Revolution (Clarendon Press)

ROBESPIERRE

Robespierre was a dapper little edition of Rousseau's philosophy, one of those doctrinaire politicians, who can never be wrong about anything, a quiet speaker whose tremendous sincerity carried conviction, called "the incorruptible", and the idol of the Paris mob. He really believed Rousseau's teaching about the virtue of the natural man who lived in a cottage, and that the poor were necessarily good and the rich necessarily evil. He dreamed of a Republic of Virtue and distrusted as potential enemies to it all whose roots lay in privilege or wealth. For him the Terror was a means of creating that Republic of Virtue. Danton had no use for such ideas and tried to stop the Terror. In conversation with Robespierre, Danton said that he believed in punishing those who were really guilty of treason against the state, but too many innocent persons were being punished. Robespierre drew himself up in all his precise virtue and said: "And who told you that a single innocent man has lost his life?" "What! Not one!" And Robespierre walked away, apparently deeply offended.



Brinton: A Decade of Revolution (Harpers)

ROBESPIERRE COMPLETES HIS TASK

A contemporary cartoon representing Robespierre as guillotining the executioner after the latter has guillotined every one else in France. The words on the monument are, "Here lies all of France".

Danton wanted to stop the Terror so he too was an enemy to the Republic of Virtue and he went to the guillotine, accompanied by his political supporters and saying on the way, "Robespierre will follow me." Two months after the execution of Danton, Robespierre had an infamous law passed on June 10, 1794. By it the Revolutionary Tribunal, a court which the Convention had created to deal with political prisoners, was empowered to put to death as an enemy of the Republic, without the hearing of witnesses and without counsel, practically anybody that the Committee of Public Safety wanted to put out of the way. Then the guillotine assumed its greatest activity. From September 1793 to

May 1794 the average number of executions in Paris was 32 a week; in June and July 1794, it was 166 a week. Robespierre himself was guillotined on July 28 and so the Terror ended. It seemed to be no longer necessary and people were sick of it. With all its exaltation France had not got to the point of applauding the policy of guillotining people in order to create a better world. The Terror had come and gone. In its last stages, "liberty, equality and fraternity" had all been submerged and all of the principles of the Declaration of the Rights of Man betrayed.

A New Constitution. The ending of the Terror was followed by the drawing up of a new constitution. A new Bill of Rights included freedom of worship and freedom of opinion. The vote was restricted by a fairly low property requirement. Those who could not read or write were barred. The Legislative Body was to consist of two houses, the Council of Five Hundred, which was to initiate all legislation, and the Council of the Ancients (the usual English translation, but Elders would be better). The administration was vested in an executive of five Directors.

The Convention decreed that two-thirds of its members be elected to the new Legislative Body. That roused Paris again. This time it was a middle-class crowd who attacked the Convention. A young officer, who was asked to assist in its defence, sent for some artillery and quickly swept away the crowd. His name was Napoleon Bonaparte. One of the last acts of the Convention was to name the Place de la Revolution, where the guillotine had stood, the Place de la Concorde. The Convention met for the last time on October 26, 1795.

Permanent Achievements of the Convention. The Convention had, before any other nation, abolished negro slavery in the colonies, put an end to imprisonment for debt, protected a wife's claim to her husband's property, planned a national system of education, and adopted the metric system of weights and measures. It also established a considerable degree of religious liberty, a national school of music, and the beginning of the famous code of law later known as the Code Napoleon. All of that, in two years, in time of war, while it was maintaining a hundred-per-cent. war effort! As a matter of fact this was the first time that a war was waged on a national basis similar to that of the wars of our time.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter in time chart under "French Revolution" the dates given in the text.

2. Compare Voltaire and Rousseau.

3. After further reading on both men, compare Danton and Robespierre.

4. On the basis of information given in the chapter write a summary of the achievements of the French Revolution.

5. Write a later essay, after having finished this book, on the historical importance of the French Revolution.

CHAPTER XIV

THE NAPOLEONIC PERIOD

The Weakness of the Directory. The Convention had achieved permanent reforms and it had managed to maintain a successful war effort. But economic and social disorder was rife throughout the country. Much of the government's paper money was worth only a fraction of its face value. Some goods were worth five hundred times as much as when the Revolution began. The government itself was facing bankruptcy. The reaction after the collapse of the Terror had suggested to many a restoration of constitutional monarchy, and even friends of the old regime had their hopes revived. The Jacobins, intent on manhood suffrage democracy, were still strong. All of these began to plot assiduously. The Directory rapidly lost the few friends it had. The difficulties would have been great enough for a group of able, honest men. The Directors, with one exception, who was a soldier rather than a statesman, were hopeless mediocrities who conducted one of the most corrupt governments in history.

Napoleon Bonaparte. In 1796 two new military campaigns were organized, one a thrust at Vienna and the other an attack in Italy. Barras, one of the Directors, obtained the appointment of commander of the Army of Italy for the young artillery officer who had helped him defend the Convention.

Napoleon was now twenty-seven. He was a Corsican, born in 1769, his father a lawyer of mediocre ability, his mother a woman of firm and frugal character. During his education in French military schools, he was reserved, moody and bad-tempered. But he was ambitious and iron-willed. Throughout his life he was thoroughly selfish, setting his heart on what he wanted and obtaining it without scruple. In his youthful reading he became enamoured of the career of Julius Caesar and of the social philosophy of Rousseau, most of which he later abandoned. He read an amazing amount of history in his earlier years. At the same time he studied hard every subject that would help to make him a master of artillery warfare. During the Revolution he saw the Paris mob in action and said, "Why don't they sweep off four or five hundred of that scum? The rest would run fast enough."

He distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon and was promoted rapidly. He commanded an expedition which attempted to free Corsica from the British. A little later one of the senior French generals made a note in regard to him: "This officer is general of artillery, and in this arm has knowledge, but has somewhat too much ambition and intriguing habits for his advancement." His fortunes were at a low ebb when Barras asked for his assistance in the defence of the Convention. At that time he was described as unkempt, sickly looking and extremely thin, with "eyes sparkling with keenness and will-power."

Napoleon's Rise to Power. The Italian campaign, of which Napoleon was given the command in the spring of 1796 was intended to be a side-show. Napoleon's military genius changed all that. After a series of brilliant victories he forced Austria out of the war. Napoleon returned to Paris to receive the most lavish hero-worship of the French people. Her allies, having all made peace, Great Britain was left alone in the war against France. Napoleon considered the possibility of invading England, then abandoned it for what he called "an eastern expedition which would menace her trade with India."

He said to his secretary: "In this great Babylon everything wears out. My glory has already disappeared. This little Europe does not supply enough of it for me. I must seek it in the East; all great fame comes from that quarter. . . . If the success of a descent upon England appear doubtful, as I suspect it will, the Army of England shall become the Army of the East, and I go to Egypt."

Egypt was intended as a half-way house to India, which Napoleon dreamed of wresting from Great Britain. Egypt he conquered easily, but Nelson destroyed his fleet at Aboukir Bay (The Battle of the Nile), on August 1, 1798. In an expedition around the eastern end of the Mediterranean, possibly aimed at the capture of Constantinople, he was checked in Syria by a British force under Sir Sidney Smith. After returning to Egypt Napoleon heard news of the fortunes of war in Europe. Everything was going badly, and Great Britain and new allies who had joined her were victorious. The French people were nearing the end of their patience with the government of the Directory. Logic and drama beckoned to Napoleon to appear immediately in Paris as the hero who could save France. He left his army stranded in Egypt, where it ultimately surrendered two years later, and ran Nelson's blockade successfully in a small ship.

After his arrival in Paris, Napoleon began to plot for immediate control of the French government. There were two aspects of the conspiracy, one aiming at the overthrow of the Directors, the other at the abolition of the Legislative Body. The former was carried out successfully; the latter was bungled by Napoleon and saved only by his brother Lucien, who as president of the Council of Five Hundred, staved off a decree of outlawry against Napoleon long enough to give the latter a chance to induce the soldiers to attack the Council. At that, the soldiers did not move until Lucien, rushing out to them, made a speech about Pitt having bought the Council and armed it with daggers. He followed up that tissue of lies by advancing on Napoleon with his drawn sword and declaring that he would kill him with his own hand if he ever attempted anything against Liberty. Then the soldiers advanced and the members of the Council escaped from their hall by both doors and windows. That was the end of representative government in France for many a year. A new constitution established a government called the Consulate, which preserved republican forms and was headed by three Consuls, but was arranged so that the real power everywhere lay with the First Consul. The First Consul was Napoleon. Revolution had ended in dictatorship. And the character of the war changed. It was now, from 1799 on, the Napoleonic War, the nations in arms against the imposition of a dictatorship on Europe.

NAPOLEON

Napoleon, after a series of new victories, made peace with his enemies and for a year, after the Peace of Amiens, 1802, all of Europe was at peace. Napoleon gave his energies to preparation for another war, but he desired time to strengthen France for the renewed struggle. Europe feared Napoleon's aggressions, and a few disputes, minor in themselves, brought on war again in 1803. In the following year Napoleon became "Emperor of the French", the republican pretension being discarded and the pomp appropriate to his real position being assumed.

Napoleon's Reforms. Napoleon had not waited for the brief peace to begin re-organization in France. From the day he became First Consul he turned his organizing genius to the rebuilding of French life and the establishment of permanent French institutions. He had an extraordinary gift for combining the formulation of broad policies with attention to detail. And not least was his capacity for hard work which seemed to have a contagious quality. He said: "Work is my element. I am born and built for work. I have known the limits of my legs. I have known the limits of my eyes. I have never known the limits of my work."

So far as public finance was concerned, Napoleon inherited chaos from the Old Regime and the Revolution alike. In an amazingly short time he made France financially sound. Among other things, he reorganized taxation, centralized and improved the collection of taxes, almost eliminated graft, established a sinking fund, and founded the Bank of France.

He recognized in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy one of the worst mistakes of the Revolution. He made a Concordat with the Pope in 1801, the main features of which are described in his own remarkably lucid words to one of his officials: "We shall issue a declaration that the Catholic religion, being that of the majority of the French nation, must be recognized and organized. The First Consul will nominate fifty bishops, whom the Pope will institute. They will appoint the curés and the state will give them all salaries. All alike shall take an oath of fidelity to the government. . . . People may call me a Papist if they like. I am nothing. I was a Mohammedan in Egypt; I shall be a Catholic in France for the sake of the people."[1] Napoleon followed up the Concordat by rendering financial assistance to Calvinists, Lutherans and Jews.

One of his greatest achievements was the Code Napoleon, which still lives in France and in the legal systems of many European countries. The Convention had begun the work. The material it collected was valuable. In Napoleon a master took up the task. He was not a lawyer. He worked through a commission of legal experts. But he sat with them through sessions of eight and nine hours a day, enunciated principles, framed phrases in his own direct style, and studied reports while he was travelling. Without his driving energy the work would never have been done. As H. A. L. Fisher has said of the Code: "It embodies the permanent conquests while rejecting the temporary extravagances of the French Revolution."

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[1] Fisher, H. A. L.: *Napoleon* (H. U. L.: Butterworth).

Napoleon was willing to put into effect the Revolution ideal of equality to a certain extent. He emphasized strongly what he called "career open to talent." In appointments and promotions nothing should be considered except ability. In the service of France under Napoleon men of the humblest birth rose to the highest positions. So there was opportunity for all. It was said that every private soldier in his armies marched with a marshal's baton in his knapsack.

One of the great French institutions which Napoleon founded was the Legion of Honour with its distinctions for military achievements, scholarship, science, the arts, public service. When it was objected that the crosses and ribbons of the Legion of Honour were "toys of monarchy", Napoleon replied: "Well, men are led by toys. I would not say that on a rostrum, but in a council of wise men and statesmen one ought to speak one's mind." He believed in public honours, distinctions, rewards, but he believed also that on the road to them there should be equality of opportunity.

He gave France also the organization of local government which was still in existence at the outbreak of the second World War. France rejected democracy in local government where we find its basic exercise. Everything in France was highly centralized, with municipal officials and police controlled by the central government, and with the prefect of each district, the sub-prefect of each district and the mayor of each city appointed by the central government.

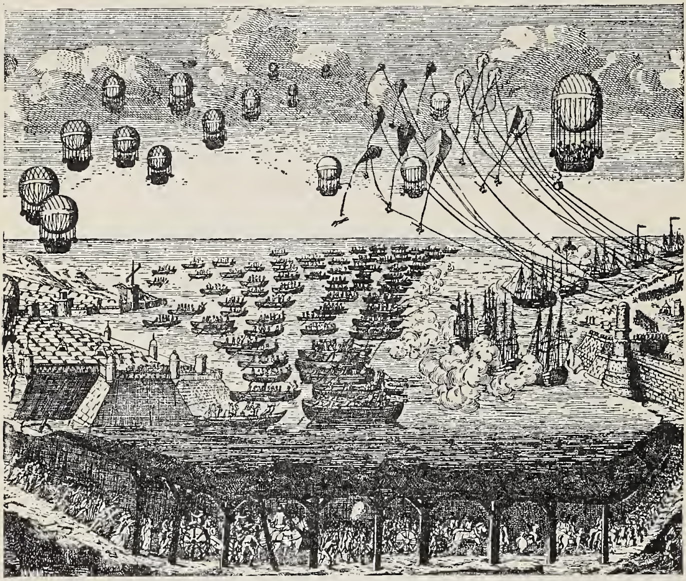
Napoleon was an active patron of literature and the arts. He did a great deal for the beautification of the city of Paris.

He was not so successful in respect to education. His interest was keen and he expanded the very limited national system established by the Convention. But his ideas of education were too mechanical and he was not above turning education into propaganda, which spells the death of education. He left behind him suppression of liberty and the type of education that fitted into it.

In addition to his great changes, considerable importance attaches to what Napoleon left unchanged. He made no attempt to restore a number of prominent elements of the Old Regime which the Revolution had swept away. He also left the peasants with their independent holdings which in one way and another they had obtained from the large estates of nobles and clergy.

Failure to Invade England. In 1804 and 1805 Napoleon turned his mind again to the invasion of England. It might be thought that, in view of the fact that every fleet he had was blockaded in some French harbour by a British squadron, the British navy having made sure of sea-supremacy early in the war, an invasion of England was impossible. But Napoleon said that "impossible" was a word that belonged only in the vocabulary of fools. Blockaded fleets could manage to get away. Some of them were to attempt it, lure the British after them, form a juncture in the West Indies, return to Europe, and gain control of the Channel for just long enough to enable Napoleon to get a large force of soldiers across to England in the flat-bottomed boats that were collected in the harbour of Boulogne. In a short time, in any case, his communication with Europe would have been cut off by sea. Ten years later, on his way to St. Helena he said: "I put all to the hazard. I entered into no calculations as to the manner in which I was to return. I trusted all to the impression the occupation of the capital would have occasioned."

Napoleon's Toulon fleet under Admiral Villeneuve got away from Nelson and sailed west from Gibraltar. Nelson suspected that it was coming back to Europe, but he felt that he had to follow it to protect the West Indies if necessary.

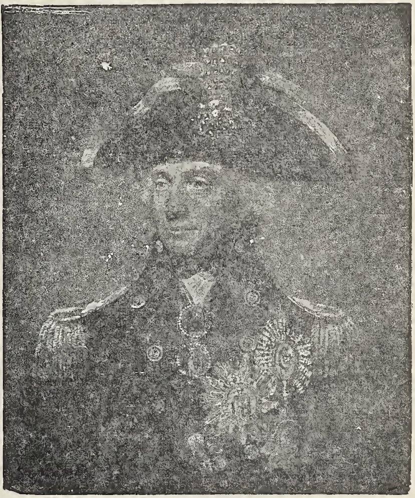


Morris & Wood: English-Speaking Nations (Clarendon Press)

A SATIRE ON NAPOLEON'S INVASION PLANS (1798)

English cartoon envisaging Napoleonic invasion of England by sea, air, and tunnel.

Failing to hear news of it for some time in the West Indies, he decided that Villeneuve had sailed for Europe, followed with his fleet, and sent a fast frigate ahead with a message to his fellow admirals. The frigate beat Villeneuve back to Europe. Cornwallis was blockading in the harbour of Brest the French fleet which was to join Villeneuve's when the latter arrived. Calder with a strong fleet took up a position off Cape Finisterre. Another French fleet had evaded its blockade. The movements of the rival fleets make a complicated story, but the astuteness of the British admiralty and the skill of those in command of the British fleets prevented a French concentration in the Channel. On the other hand, Villeneuve said that his fleet had "bad sails, bad rigging, bad officers and bad seamen." Napoleon at Boulogne had been pacing up and down the cliffs impatiently, he and his officers peering down the Channel with their glasses, looking for the French sails which never appeared. When he heard that Villeneuve was at Cadiz he broke out into a rage. "What a fleet! What an admiral!"



Mowat: History of Great Britain (Oxford)

NELSON

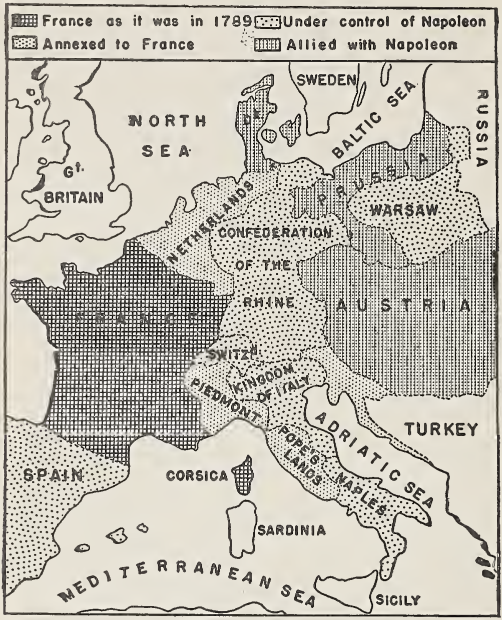
Trafalgar. By this time Austria and Russia had joined Great Britain in the war against France. On October 20 Napoleon won a brilliant victory over the Austrians at Ulm, the army that had been intended for the invasion of England being part of his triumphant force. On the same day Villeneuve, stung by the Emperor's reproaches, left Cadiz harbour to attack Nelson who defeated him on the 21st off Cape Trafalgar. "Every schoolboy" knows the story of the greatest naval battle in modern history. Villeneuve's fleet was by far the strongest that France possessed. Of its thirty-three ships, eighteen were destroyed in the battle and four were captured after it. Trafalgar did not save England from immediate invasion. That had been achieved by the movements already described. Napoleon had given up the idea of invasion for the time being. But Trafalgar so weakened the naval strength of France that Napoleon had no later opportunity of invading England and in all his future plans he had to concede Great Britain's unchallengeable control of the seas. That control was to be a principal factor in defeating Napoleon's effort to crush England commercially and in bringing about his downfall.

The Continental System. In view of that naval situation brilliant victories on the continent could not force Britain out of the war. But Napoleon believed that he had one method left. From the beginning of his career he had envisaged the destruction of British commerce as a means of ruining Great Britain. In those days war did not keep factories running as it does today. And Great Britain in the full swing of her industrial revolution had to have markets in Europe. Napoleon's predecessors had played with the idea of excluding British trade entirely from the continent of Europe. To effect that he had to control the coasts of Europe. Napoleon dreamed of building on the ruins of British trade a greater European commerce under the over-lordship of France. As the war with Britain was renewed in 1803 he was talking of his "coast-system". "We have already acquired an extent of coast that makes us formidable; we will add to this, we will form a more complete coast-svstem, and England shall end bv shedding tears of blood." Behind his victories, behind the slaughter and the roll of drums lay this compelling purpose of controlling the whole coast-line of the continent. He extended his coast-system by the seizure of Hanover and by forcing Prussia to close her ports to British trade. Great Britain replied in April 1806 with "the Fox blockade" of the northern coast of Europe from the Elbe river to Brest. A few months later Napoleon crushed the Prussians at Jena, conquered Prussia and from its capital published his famous Berlin Decree in November 1806.

The Berlin Decree declared a blockade of the British Isles. Since Napoleon had no ships with which to enforce this, it was of course "a paper blockade". But it gave Napoleon the excuse for doing something which he had the power to do. On the pretense of a blockade which did not exist he could, in his own ports and those of his allied and subject states, investigate neutral vessels and, on finding evidence that they had come from a British port, prevent them from landing their cargoes. The Berlin Decree stated specifically that no vessel coming from a British port or having been in a British port subsequent to the date of the decree should be received in any Napoleonic port and that any vessel making a false declaration should be seized. All goods that were British either in ownership or origin were to be seized wherever they were to be found within the states which Napoleon controlled.

That this was a reply to the Fox blockade was mere pretense. Napoleon's aim was really a self-blockade of the continent. The Berlin Decree was to be the foundation of that Continental System, that exclusion of all British goods from the continent of Europe toward which he had been working for years. Napoleon was always a dramatist and he had seized a dramatic moment for the promulgation of his Berlin Decree. But he was not in a position to enforce it. He needed more coast-line. In the early months of 1807 he secured the consent of Turkey, Austria and Denmark to his system, then he defeated the Russians at Friedland and in July he crowned his early achievements by the Treaty of

Tilsit which secured the adhesion of Russia to the Continental System. There were still some gaps in the coast-line of Europe but Napoleon now felt that he could proceed with the enforcement of his great decree.


France as it was in 1789
Under control of Napoleon
Annexed to France
Allied with Napoleon
NORTH SEA
Gt. BRITAIN
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
RUSSIA
DK.
PRUSSIA
WARSAW
NETHERLANDS
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
AUSTRIA
FRANCE
SWITZD.
KINGDOM OF ITALY
PIEDMONT
POPE'S LANDS
NAPLES
ADRIATIC SEA
TURKEY
SPAIN
CORSICA
SARDINIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SICILY

EUROPE AT THE HEIGHT OF NAPOLEON'S POWER

Napoleon's Control of the Continent. The Treaty of Tilsit between Napoleon and Russia did more than strengthen Napoleon's Continental System. It completed his control of the continent of Europe. He had conquered and annexed to France a great deal of territory. Other territory he "protected" in such a way that it was completely dependent on him. He had won brilliant victories over the great powers—Austria at Ulm, Austria and Russia at Austerlitz, both in 1805, and Prussia at Jena in 1806. He imposed humiliating alliances on Austria and Prussia. He abolished a number of smaller German states and forced several larger ones to unite in the Confederation of the Rhine which Napoleon dominated and controlled. In 1806 he had put an end to the Holy Roman Empire. The head of the Hapsburg family retained the title of Emperor, but was known from that time on as the Emperor of Austria. Then in 1807 he entered into an arrangement with Russia at Tilsit, which was not humiliating to Russia and secured Napoleon's control of western Europe.

Britain's Efforts Against the Continental System. In November 1807 the British Government issued a complicated series of Orders-in-Council. They purported to treat all ports under Napoleon's control or alliance "as if they were blockaded". But they also permitted neutral ships to enter those ports if they sailed direct to them from Britain. In fact the main purpose of the Orders-in-Council was to require all neutral shipping to Europe to pour through a British funnel and to force into Europe the British exports which Napoleon was trying to shut out. Neutrals were placed in a position where they had to choose between obeying Napoleon or obeying Great Britain. But Britain had her navy, with its mastery of the seas to support her orders. And neutral vessels preferred to attempt to deceive the officials in Napoleonic ports by producing false sailing papers, concealing the true ones and representing British goods as non-British.

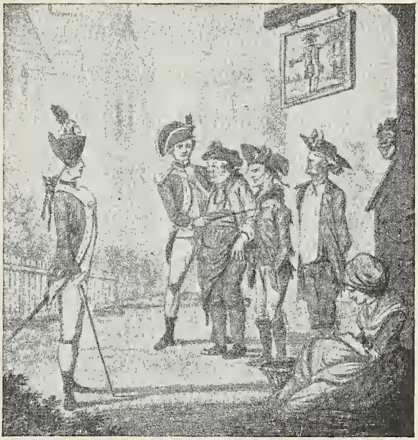
The great weakness of the Orders-in-Council lay in the fact that they evoked American reprisals and greatly injured, in the periods when they did not practically destroy, British trade with the United States, causing unemployment and distress in Great Britain. British merchants were divided in opinion in regard to them and there was strong opposition to them throughout. Ultimately they proved to be the main cause of the War of 1812, which Napoleon fomented.

The British Orders-in-Council of November 1807 were followed immediately by Napoleon's Milan Decrees which substituted seizure of ship and cargo for mere exclusion as the penalty for violation of the Berlin Decree. They also extended the "blockade" from the British Isles to all British ports in any part of the world.

Great Britain did not rely on the Orders-in-Council alone to force her exports into Europe. Enterprising merchants, in league with smugglers of all types, managed to sell their goods in Europe in defiance of the Napoleonic decrees. The smuggling devices were as varied as they were ingenious. In a suburb of Hamburg the unusual number of funerals aroused suspicion, and a coffin was opened and found to contain sugar, coffee, vanilla and indigo. British trade was fighting for its life, but it was greatly injured by Napoleon's decrees and men were thrown out of work in large numbers, involving much distress, partly because of the decrees and partly because of the injury which the British Orders-in-Council inflicted on Britain's American trade.

The commercial supremacy which Great Britain had established was too much for Napoleon. The Continental System was from the first to last caught in a vicious circle. It aimed at the building up of French industry on the ruin of British trade. In excluding British goods, it excluded the raw materials for French industry. In the years after 1810 it caused a vast amount of unemployment and consequent suffering all over Europe. That hurt Napoleonic countries much more than the deprivation, which it also effected, of coffee, sugar and tobacco. Napoleon was taking advantage of the Continental System to favour France at the expense of the subject nations. This conviction fanned the flames of nationalist revolt against Napoleon's tyranny. In the long run the industrial, commercial and naval supremacy of Great Britain was the most important feature in the overthrow of Napoleon.

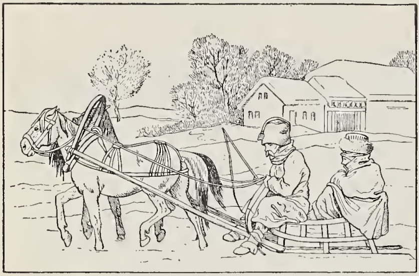
Spain. A glance at the map will show the important position that Spain occupied in the control of the coastline of Europe and the maintenance of the Continental System. Napoleon would feel safer with Spain as a subject nation rather than an ally. He conquered Portugal and then with a lightning stroke of the basest treachery he forced the abdication of the king of Spain and placed his own brother Joseph on the throne. It was not, of course, entirely the Continental System. Glory was always a great factor with Napoleon and he enjoyed having members of his family occupying various thrones in Europe. The Spaniards rebelled, and Great Britain sent an army to help them. The result was the Peninsular War. For a period of six years (1808-1814) the British army directed by the brilliant strategy of Wellington made it necessary for Napoleon to leave a large military force and some of his best generals in the Peninsula. This campaign resulted in the freeing of Portugal and Spain, and Wellington's entry into France was to play its part in forcing Napoleon's abdication.



Turberville: English Men & Manners in Eighteenth Century (Clarendon)

RAW MATERIAL OF WELLINGTON'S ARMY

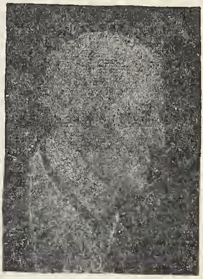
Russia. Austria, swept by a wave of nationalism and resentment, revolted against the Continental System, but was crushed by Napoleon at the battle of Wagram in July 1809. Gradually Russia came to realize that it was suicidal for her to adhere to the Continental System. Some Russian products could be sold only to England, while Russia needed English products badly, particularly English manufactured goods and more than ever after the effects of Napoleon's System crippled the industry of Western Europe. There were other reasons for Russia breaking with France, but the Continental System was the principal one. And Napoleon felt that he had to force Russia to adhere to it. He gathered a great army for the invasion of that country. After he reached Moscow the city was burned and he dared not go further. The winter was coming on and he was not prepared for a winter campaign. Winter weather in fact came too soon for Napoleon and, retreating over a devastated country (Napoleon had always counted on his armies living off the country in which they operated and had no adequate supplies), his army was destroyed by cold, hunger and the attacks of guerillas from rear and flanks. When a fragment staggered into Western Europe again, Napoleon had lost half a million men in six months, by far the greatest military disaster up to that time. He had another large army ready some months later, but Prussia, Russia and Austria combined to strike the staggering giant and decisively defeated him at Leipzig in



Hazen: Modern European History (Holt)
NAPOLEON RETURNING FROM MOSCOW
(Cartoon)

October 1813. Wellington joined in forcing Napoleon into a position from which there was no escape but by abdication in April 1814.

Elba, Waterloo, St. Helena. Napoleon's escape from his island prison of Elba and the "Hundred Days" constituted an adventure which had little chance of success. Waterloo afforded a tragic climax to his military career. Wellington's generalship and the valour of the "thin red line" are among the glories of British history. As Blucher and his Prussians approached the field of battle, Napoleon called on his reserves for a final charge. After Wellington's "Up, Guards, and make ready" the British drove them back and Napoleon's forces broke and fled. As a "sleep-walker of a vanished dream" he disappeared from the stage of history. A few weeks later he was consigned to his final prison at St. Helena and the western world entered an unexampled period of peace wars.



Mowat: History of Great Britain (Oxford)
WELLINGTON

SUGGESTIONS

1. Additional dates for your time chart: 1812—Napoleon's retreat from Moscow; 1815—Waterloo.

2. After further reading write a brief essay on the character and personality of Napoleon.

lasting for ninety-nine years, disturbed only by brief or minor

CHAPTER XV

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The Industrial Revolution. The period of the Industrial Revolution in England has been generally considered to be the hundred years that lay between 1750 and 1850. That in itself is enough to remind us that it was not as sudden as the word "revolution" frequently suggests. It was the result of an evolution and in turn it produced an evolution that has continued to our own day. Essentially it was the beginning of the machine age, involving the factory organization of industry. In a sense it was caused by a remarkable series of inventions in the textile and iron industries. But "necessity is the mother of invention". One important factor was the success of British world trade and the development of markets by enterprising British merchants beyond the point at which British industry could supply those markets. That was related to an expanding empire in India, the West Indies, and the American colonies. There was at the same time a growing demand from a home market. The population was increasing considerably before the beginning of the Industrial Revolution.

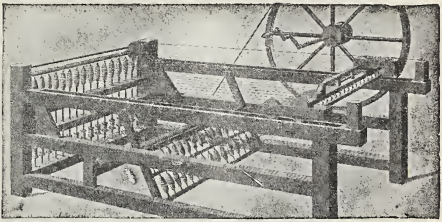
The earliest manifestations of the revolution were in the iron and textile industries. In each there was a call for a new material. Before the great inventions and the demand for iron for the new machinery, it was apparent that iron could be beneficially used for many purposes if only an iron of a suitable quality could be produced cheaply. The case is even clearer with cotton. Cotton cloth became very popular in England during the century before the Industrial Revolution, when a certain amount of it was brought from India by the East India Company. It was liked because of its attractive patterns, because it could be washed easily and because it was cheap. Its uses for dress, sheets, furnishings, were many and there was a tremendous demand, not only in Britain, but also in Africa, the West Indies and the southern American colonies, where it was preferred for climatic reasons, and because the negroes had a particular fondness for its gay colours. British industry could not yet produce all-cotton goods and what it could produce did not compete successfully with the Indian product. Here was a challenge to British inventiveness.

The Industrial Revolution was preceded and accompanied by an agricultural revolution. Scientific methods of planting, tilling and enriching the soil had developed. They completed the destruction of the old open-field organization of agriculture, effecting a new series of "enclosures". The small farmers were compensated in a manner that may have been fair enough from a legal point of view, but the less enterprising of them failed to adjust themselves to the new system. As they made their way to the towns and cities, the new factories of the Industrial Revolution were supplied with labour. In the country there was a marked decline of the old yeoman class. There were fewer small independent landowners. In 1830 one fifth of the land of England was owned by those who actually worked it.

The Pre-Revolution Domestic System in the Textile Industries. Before the Industrial Revolution, the making of woollen cloth was the greatest of the textile industries. In fact it provided half of Britain's total exports as well as supplying a great home market. In all the textile industries the manufacture was domestic. The cloth was made in houses spread across the open country. Some weavers had a small plot of land and a cow or two, but most of them were actually dependent on their weaving. The textile industries were thoroughly capitalized long before the Industrial Revolution. The capitalist clothier owned the raw material and the finished product, and those who worked in the houses were really wage-labourers although the wage was a piece-work one. Many of those clothiers had from five hundred to a thousand employees, each working in his own house. The employer owned everything except the "means of production," that is the house, the loom, the spinning-wheel. The employee working in his own house was usually assisted by the members of his family, and frequently by apprentices and journeymen, who were in turn his employees.

There is evidence, both partial and impartial, which shows that there was a strong feeling of antagonism between employers and employees, and frequently a consciousness of unfair exploitation of labour. The hours of labour were, from our point of view, shockingly long. Some workmen worked sixteen hours a day and nearly all worked fourteen hours a day for what was frequently a bare livelihood. There were also periodic unemployment and child-labour. Children were put to work at five and sometimes as soon as they could walk. None of these evils was the result of the Industrial Revolution. They were all traditional features of English industry which were carried into the new factories when the revolution came. The Industrial Revolution created conditions which aggravated them and in which also they could be more effectively remedied.

The Great Inventions in the Textile Industries. The first of the great inventions was the flying shuttle. The date, 1733, appears to be early for the Industrial Revolution, but it did not come immediately into effective general use and its principal importance, after it did, lay in the stimulus it gave to later inventions. John Kay was a weaver. In the weaving of broadcloth, which at that time meant woollen cloth made on a broad loom, one man stood at each side of the loom. They threw the shuttle containing the thread of the weft (cross-thread) through the threads of the warp, which were separated in the proper manner. Each of these two men, while they worked the treadles, threw the shuttle in turn across the loom. Kay's flying shuttle was thrown by pulling a string which released a spring at each side of the loom. It was intended to enable one man to work a broad loom instead of two. As a matter of fact it was some time before the difficulties of its operation were overcome in the weaving of woollen cloth. But it worked better with cotton. Very few broad looms employing two men were used in the weaving of cotton and what Kay's invention ultimately accomplished was to enable a man working a narrow loom to do twice as much work himself. Before this invention it was difficult to get enough thread for the looms. Now it was more difficult than ever and there was a crying need for inventions in spinning.



Turberville: English Men & Manners in Eighteenth Century (Clarendon)

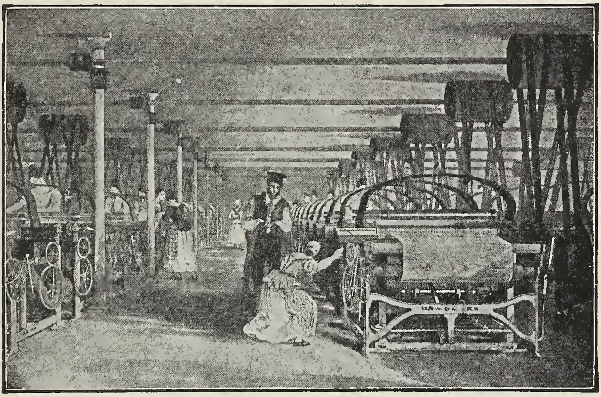
HARGREAVES' SPINNING JENNY

Some time between 1764 and 1767 another weaver, named Hargreaves, came into his house with bundles of thread or yarn and just then his wife's spinning-wheel was overturned. The wheel was then in a horizontal position and the spindle in a vertical one, which is supposed to have suggested to his mind the possibility of a spinning-machine which would operate a number of vertical spindles. His first machine had eight spindles which meant the spinning of eight times as much thread as the spinning-wheel; a later one had sixteen spindles and the number increased to over a hundred in a relatively short time after Hargreaves' death. The invention was called the spinning jenny. It was probably not named after his wife, as one story goes. Any machine was called an engine at that time and the slang for it was "gin". This spinning gin came to be called ginny or jenny.

Richard Arkwright, a barber, picked up from others the idea of spinning by a series of rollers. He invented and patented in 1769 a roller-machine which was called the water frame because soon after its invention it was run by water-power. Up to this time cotton thread had not been strong enough for the warp which was made of other material, usually linen. The roller process produced a stronger thread and enabled British manufacturers to produce all-cotton goods. Arkwright had business as well as inventive ability and organized a successful group of factories.

Ten years later spinning was further improved by Crompton's mule which combined the vertical spindles and travelling carriage of the jenny with the rollers of the water-frame. This offspring of two different machines was named after the animal which is the offspring of two different animals. The mule produced a very fine yarn which made possible the production of fabrics that rivalled the best which the Orient could produce. And the British factories could turn them out much more cheaply.

This series of inventions—jenny, water-frame and mule—placed spinning ahead of weaving and the pressure was then for further invention in weaving to enable it to catch up. That came in 1787 with Cartwright's power-loom which was driven by water power and then by steam. Edmund Cartwright was a clergyman who had taken no interest in anything mechanical. He had spent much of his spare time in writing poetry. But he hated to hear it said that anything was impossible and he heard a group of hard-headed business men say that it was impossible to produce a weaving-machine that would enable weaving to reach spinning in output. He had never seen a loom but he began to study them and achieved his great invention. After further improvements it became possible for one man to weave as much cloth as that produced by two hundred hand weavers.

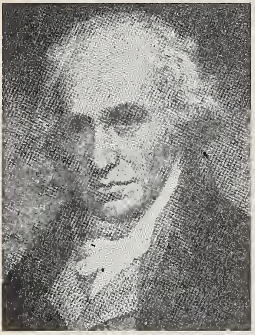


Waters: An Economic History of England (Oxford)

POWER LOOM WEAVING

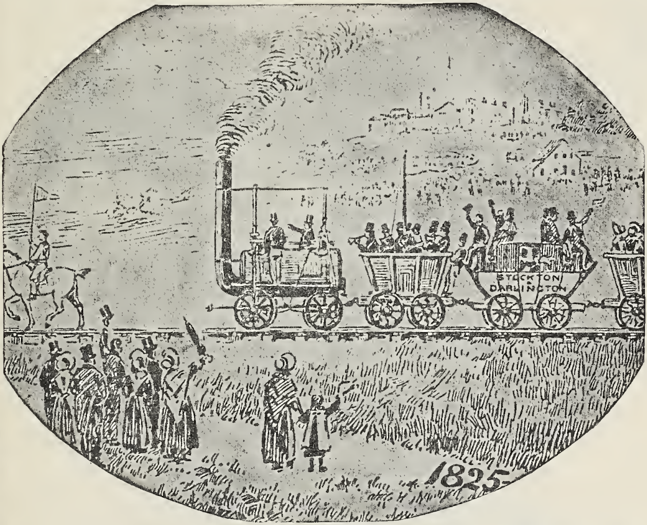
The Steam Engine. The greatest invention of all was the harnessing of steam power to the new machinery which led to its ultimate application to still more wonderful machinery from that day to this. About the time that Hargreaves was inventing his spinning jenny, a steam engine which was used for pumping water out of mines was brought for repair to James Watt, an instrument-maker at the University of Glasgow. He began to think of improving that rudimentary engine whose utility was so limited. He improved it, but he was not satisfied until he invented a new automatic steam pump in which steam alone was used to drive the piston.

That was the beginning of a long and heroic road in which Watt made a series of inventions to improve his engine and encountered many disappointments and failures. He received help too, notably from Matthew Boulton who became his business partner, financed him, and suggested the perfecting of a steam engine that could be applied to practically any sort of machinery. Finally, between 1801 and 1804, forty years after he started thinking about steam engines, Watt's engines were at work in most of the cotton mills of Great Britain. Steam went on to make further conquests and a revolution within the Industrial Revolution was effected.


Wilmore: Industrial Britain (Harrap)

WATT

Iron. Iron was now used for the construction of the increasingly powerful machinery. From the beginning it had shared with cotton the honour of pioneering the Industrial Revolution. Before the revolution began charcoal was used for the smelting of iron. Since it was made from wood there was a danger of the supply running out. A new fuel was discovered in coke, made from coal, and by 1750, at the beginning of the revolution, the use of coke had become general in the smelting of iron. It provided a much greater heat than charcoal, which meant a better fusion of the iron ore. After coke came to be used in smelting, better cast iron could be produced cheaply. But the greatest invention in the iron industry was that of puddling, in 1783. The result was a wrought iron whose utility and cheapness placed Britain's iron industry far ahead of the rest of the world. All the needs of the machine age in Great Britain could be met and in addition to that, by 1830, one fifth of her wrought iron was being exported. By that time the Industrial Revolution was built largely on iron and coal, the British deposits of which lay fortunately close to one another. By 1850 Great Britain's coal production was twelve times that of either France or Germany. The Industrial Revolution of course spread to other countries, but throughout the period between 1750 and 1850 Britain was far in the lead.

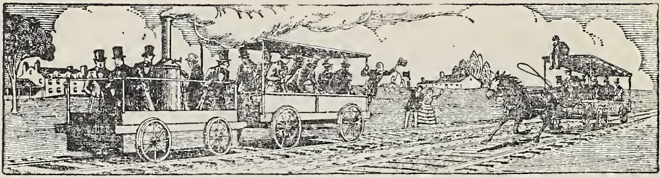


Waters: An Economic History of England (Oxford)

STEPHENSON'S FIRST PASSENGER TRAIN

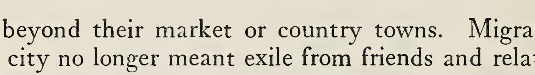
Transportation. The new expanding industry was interested in the increased facilities and the cheapening of transportation. The result was a series of revolutionary changes. Roads were greatly improved, and a net-work of canals was constructed which were especially useful for the cheap carriage of heavy goods. Much more important was the coming of the railway

—or, more properly, the locomotive-drawn railway train—in the latter part of the period. Trevithick invented the locomotive, but Stephenson made it adaptable for general use and introduced the properly graded road-bed. The recent Oxford History of the period says in indicating some of the social results: "The railways did much to break down the isolation and caste system of rural England; they brought thousands of children within the range of secondary schools in the towns, and enabled the middle and poorer classes to see places beyond their market or country towns. Migration to a large city no longer meant exile from friends and relations."[1] In the earliest days a first railway journey was a great adventure. Parties were organized for this new treat. And friends were told that the speed fairly took one's breath away; they travelled at a rate of twenty-five miles an hour.



RACE BETWEEN LOCOMOTIVE AND HORSE

Race on first railway in America. The locomotive and the horse were each to draw a railway carriage of that time. The locomotive took an early lead but something went wrong with it, and the horse won.



H. H. Southam

TRAIN ON THE FIRST RAILWAY IN CANADA

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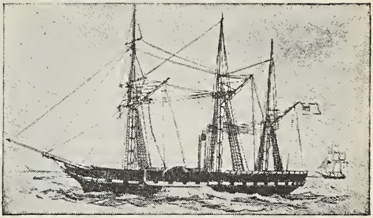
[1] Woodward, E. L.: *Age of Reform* (Oxford).

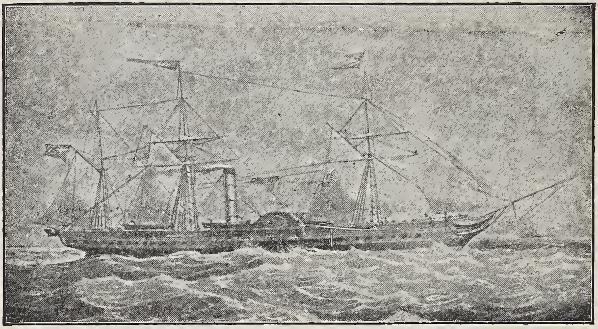
Then came the steamship. An American sailing-ship with auxiliary steam apparatus did a little steaming on a trip across the Atlantic; she had about forty-eight hours supply of coal in her bunkers. But the first steamer to cross the Atlantic was the Canadian *Royal William*, built in Quebec and her engines made and installed in Montreal. Built as a steamer to run between Montreal and Halifax, the *Royal William* had failed to make money, and one of her owners, Samuel Cunard of Halifax, conceived the idea of sending her across the Atlantic. Before she got out of the Gulf she had a fire and sprung a leak, and her starboard engine broke down, but her port engine kept going and she steamed all the way across the ocean, the first ship to do so (1833). Cunard later organized the first line of ocean steamers.



John Ross Robertson Collection: Toronto Public Libraries

THE ROYAL WILLIAM

Shifts of Population. The population of Great Britain increased fifty per cent. between 1750 and 1800 and doubled between 1800 and 1850. That was formerly described as a result of the Industrial Revolution. There was some immigration, mainly from Ireland. But recent research has revealed the facts that the increase in the birth-rate in this period was slight and that the increase of population was mainly the result of the decrease of the death rate caused by the advance of medical science. In 1740, seventy-five per cent. of the children of London died at birth or before they were five years old; in 1800, only forty-one per cent. In the next half-century there was a much further decrease of child mortality. The death-rate of adults also decreased. The conclusion would appear to be that the increase of population was not a result of the Industrial Revolution. The great growth in population obviously strengthened the Industrial Revolution by increasing the home market. There were two shifts of population—from the country to the towns and cities, and from the south and east of England to the north and west, where the coal and iron were.



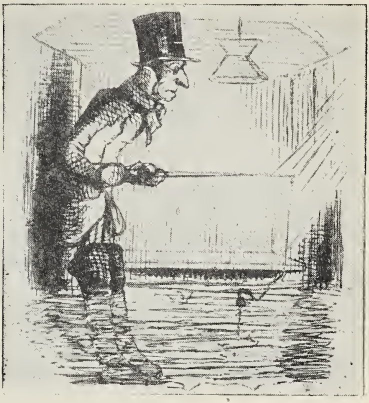
Corke: Book of Modern Peoples (Clarendon)

AN EARLY CUNARDER

The names of all Cunarders end in "ia". Cunard named the first: *Britannia*, *Caledonia*, *Acadia*, and *Columbia*. This is the *Caledonia*.

New Social Classes. The Industrial Middle Class. The Industrial Revolution created two new social classes, the industrial middle class—that is, the factory owners—and the factory workers. Some of the capital for the new factories was provided by those who were previously wealthy. Yet rich men went into industry and failed, while sons of small farmers, barbers, mechanics, and artisans, started business in a small way, skimped themselves, practised the most rigid economy, worked long hours, put their profits back into the business and became owners of large factories and the possessors of wealth. The story of the Industrial Revolution is that of great opportunity for men of small means.

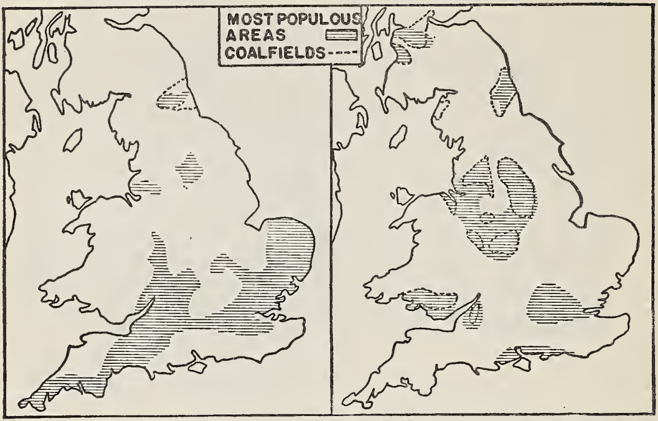
The factory owners were builders and drivers, stern men who believed that industry and thrift were the greatest of virtues, and sometimes hard men. They loved their work and gloried in their success. They took pride in the fact that they were "self-made men". They had no time for bad habits and in respect to all the sterner virtues Britain owed a great deal to them. They bequeathed to later generations a conception of success that was measured too much in terms of money. But they laid the foundation of what ultimately, years later, brought to all classes a prosperity that would have amazed the men of any previous period in history. They believed in progress, more progress and still more progress. Many of them were interested in progress in realms other than economic. Certainly they were enthusiastic. One of them, named Wilkinson, a leader in the iron industry, "never wrote a letter without using the word iron, constructed an iron ship, built an iron church with an iron pulpit, and was buried in an iron coffin."



Punch

FISHING IN A THIRD-CLASS CARRIAGE
The third-class carriages on the early railways were not roofed over. The rain came in to the discomfort of the passengers. *Punch*, started in 1841 as a comic and reforming journal, complained of the carelessness of the railways in not cleaning up the third-class carriages. This cartoon is part of its campaign for better conditions.

The Factory Workers. The workingmen of the Industrial Revolution were not as well off as many small farmers had been before they were driven off the land, but they were better paid than those who, as agricultural labourers or in the domestic textile industry, had worked for wages. At first, in the factories, real wages, that is wages in proportion to cost of living, went up, then they went down in the period of the Napoleonic war. But the latter decrease in real wages was a result of the high prices caused by the war. In the whole period from 1790 to 1850, and more particularly from 1820 to 1850, there was, on the whole, a substantial increase in real wages. That average, of course, tells us nothing of the more prosperous, or of the more unfortunate, such as the hand-loom weavers who suffered terribly as a result of a meagre wage. While there was a general betterment of real wages in the period from 1815 to 1850, there was a bad stretch of time between 1815 to 1820 (post-war), during which great popular agitations for reform developed, and another in the late thirties and early forties, when the Chartist movement and the Anti-Corn Law League had thei

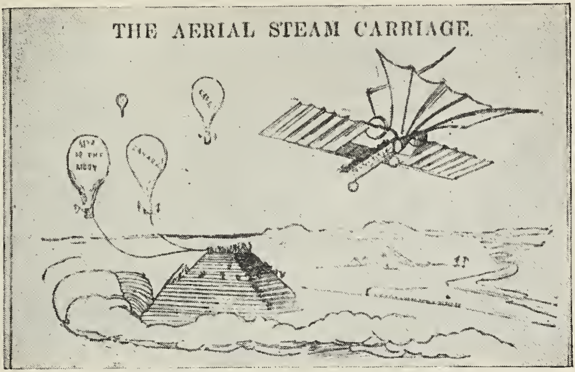


Carter & Mears: History of Britain (Clarendon)

ENGLAND BEFORE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

INDUSTRIAL BRITAIN IN 1930

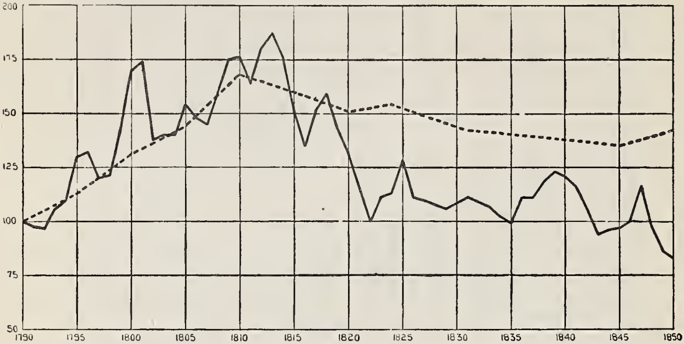
origin. In spite of the fact that the Napoleonic war handicapped prosperity for many years after the peace, certainly the wealth of England was, in that period, substantially increased by the Industrial Revolution. But if the question is asked whether the factory workers gained anything approaching what should have been their share in that increase, the answer is a decided negative.


THE AERIAL STEAM CARRIAGE.

PUNCH LOOKS INTO THE FUTURE

In this cartoon of 1843, *Punch* imagines a service by air from London to Egypt. The air-ship is about to land on a pyramid. Balloons are waiting to take passengers to local points.

In any case, real wages can never be the only test of social welfare. In the earlier stages, the driving energy of the leaders of the Industrial Revolution built rapidly growing towns and cities with little or no regard for the comfort or health of the workers. Cities had always been dirty and they had always had slums. But the smoke nuisance, general drabness and lack of recreation were new even for cities. Most of these men and women had come from the country, and, as one of them said, "The green grass and the healthful hayfields are shut out from our path. The warbling of birds is not for us; our melody is the deafening sound of the engine." While the earlier cities had slums, the cities themselves were small and there was always an easy access to the open country. The large cities of the Industrial Revolution grew up at first without any park space or facilities for recreation. Although the hours of labour, which seem very long to us, were not actually longer than they had been before the Industrial Revolution, the discipline of the factory and the difficulty, which the machine created, of taking a personal interest in one's work, made the long hours more trying. The child labour in the factories and the terrible conditions under which women and children worked in the mines are referred to in the following chapter.



INDUSTRIAL WAGES AND COST OF LIVING, 1790-1850

Broken line represents industrial wages, heavy line cost of living. Based on two sets of statistics generally accepted by present day historical scholars: *Wood, The General Course of Industrial Wages (Economic Journal)* and *Silberling, British Prices and Business Cycles* 1779-1850 *(Review of Economic Statistics, Harvard Economic Service).* They represent carefully compiled averages and are accepted and fully discussed in *Clapham, Economic History of Modern Britain, Vol. I,* which is the standard authority on the economic history of the period.

One of the worst features of the industrial cities was the large number of damp and altogether horrible cellar dwellings particularly in Manchester. They were inhabited, not by factory workers, but by hand-loom weavers who became poorer and poorer, the victims of the Industrial Revolution, until the hand-loom disappeared entirely. Over-crowding was bad but it would be a mistake to think that a majority of the factory workers lived in over-crowded tenements. In a city where the over-crowding was at its worst, the average number of persons inhabiting a house was between five and six. Most of the factory workers who were heads of families lived in houses where there were four or five rooms for the family. The houses themselves were crowded together, sometimes built back to back, and frequently flimsy in construction. The effects of the factory labour on health were, at first, very bad. General conditions were, from our point of view, unsatisfactory enough in 1850. But before that date, provision for sanitation, for public health, for policing, for street lighting and paving, and the laying out of parks were much better than they had ever been in cities before. And the habit of week-end trips out of town, facilitated by the railway, was making its appearance. Some of these improvements were made in the years immediately preceding 1850. There was little or no improvement in housing conditions.

As a result of the Industrial Revolution the food and clothing of the poorer classes were greatly improved, the latter through the use of cotton and linen. In the first part of the period drunkenness and immorality increased, as a result probably of the unaccustomed conditions, but in the first half of the nineteenth century there was a decided improvement in both respects and in the social habits of the working class generally.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Additional date: 1825—Opening of the first real railway.
2. Write a brief essay on the invention of the safety lamp by Davy.

CHAPTER XVI

THE AGE OF REFORM IN GREAT BRITAIN

Parliamentary Reform. The later part of the period of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain was called the Age of Reform. The basic reform was *parliamentary reform*, by which is meant, not reform instituted by parliament, but reform of parliament itself. Parliamentary government was well established but parliament was far from being representative. Less than a quarter of the members of the House of Commons were elected by the counties, where a fairly low freehold franchise prevailed, but only a few of the farmers were freeholders and all voters were swayed to a large extent by the "influence" of the great land-holding families. More than three-quarters of the Commons members were elected by the boroughs, which were properly town constituencies, but frequently there was nothing that could be called a town. The greater part of the ancient borough of Dunwich had been under the waters of the North Sea for centuries. At the same time in large and flourishing cities the franchise was so narrowly restricted that there were very few voters. In about half of the boroughs there were less than two hundred voters; in about a quarter there were less than fifty.

The voting franchise was varied in character. Sometimes it included only those who held land on a rare type of tenure. In the "corporation" boroughs the municipal corporations elected the members of parliament. Each corporation was a sort of municipal council, frequently a body of about twelve men who filled up the gaps in their own ranks and were responsible to nobody. In many cases a corporation advertised in the public press that it had two seats in parliament to sell and that they would go to the highest bidder.

Scotland was worse than England. There, in both counties and boroughs, any real representation of the people was non-existent. There were less than five thousand voters in the whole country, and in no constituency was there anything approaching an open election.

Mowat: History of Great Britain, 1688-1924 *(Oxford)*

SKATING IN HYDE PARK IN 1780

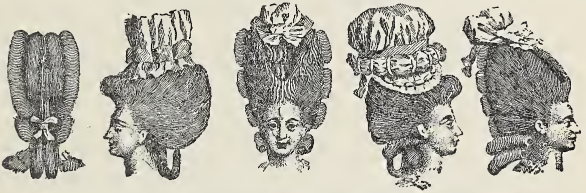
Some of these borough seats were bought by the men who represented them, but the great majority were purchased by borough-patrons who selected and controlled the members, to whom they permitted a good bit of freedom on questions which did not affect the interest and desires of the patrons. With these borough-patrons, governments and political parties had to make the best bargains they could. Two careful surveys, made in 1793 and 1794 agreed that the majority of the members of the British House of Commons were controlled by a hundred and sixty-two patrons. The great majority of the patrons were members of the aristocracy. Obviously England was an oligarchy.

The shift of population in the Industrial Revolution did something to make matters worse but most of the boroughs had been controlled in the Stuart period, and many of them had been created by the Tudor and Stuart sovereigns with the specific intention that they should be manipulated and controlled boroughs. The marked economic and social changes effected by the Industrial Revolution gradually made men's minds more receptive to political change. Most of the rapidly growing cities of the Revolution had no real representation in parliament, and what was more important, the two new social classes created by the Industrial Revolution, the factory owners and the factory workers, both came to insist on having a voice in government.

William Cobbett, the greatest of the popular leaders after 1815, was the son of an agricultural labourer, a "self-made man" in the sense that he was self-educated, founder and editor of the first cheap newspaper, possessed of a remarkable literary style. He taught the members of the lower classes, suffering from the unemployment and heavy taxation that followed the Napoleonic war, that their chief remedy lay in getting the vote. That was the one thing to be sought and all other things would be added unto it. As in France Rousseau's book had been read aloud by a few men who could read to many who could not, so at this time in England Cobbett's cheap newspaper was read to many. A popular agitation for the franchise followed.

The factory-owner class, aware of its real importance in the nation, came to desire an important part in government. They saw change around them every day, they lived by change, their position had been created by it, and consequently they were favourable to political change.

Although Englishmen were shocked by the atrocities of the French Revolution, and its immediate effect in England was to strengthen reaction, a minority was sympathetic with its democratic aspirations. And after a few years had passed, more Englishmen were willing to adopt democratic opinion, so long as the French label was not apparent. Just at that time an English writer, Jeremy Bentham, developed a theory of democracy that had the advantage of being "made in England." He did not invent the phrase "the greatest happiness of the greatest number", but on the day that he ran across it in a book by Joseph Priestly, he said that he felt like crying out "Eureka." It expressed perfectly what he thought of as the chief aim of government. Everything was to be tested by that. How are we to arrive at "the greatest happiness of the greatest number?" Who is the best judge of John Smith's happiness? Is it somebody else trying to decide it for him; or is it John Smith? If the latter is right, then give all the John Smiths an equal vote and the majority decision will determine "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." The reasoning may be no more infallible than was that of Rousseau, but it was timely and effective.



Turberville: English Men & Manners in Eighteenth Century (Clarendon)
FASHIONABLE HEAD-DRESSES OF 1780

Many who followed Bentham in the application of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" to reform generally, did not favour the immediate adoption of manhood-suffrage democracy. It may, however, be worth mentioning that Mary Wollstonecraft, a disciple of Bentham, and John Stuart Mill, the son of his closest friend, suggested in this period that the vote should be given to women.

Within the aristocracy, two men whose fathers had been friends and disciples of Charles Fox, who had warmly applauded the French Revolution, took the lead in urging parliamentary reform in parliament itself, John George Lambton, later Lord Durham, and Lord John Russell. Both introduced reform bills which were defeated. But their day was to come—in those exciting months between the autumn of 1830 and the spring of 1832.

The Great Reform Bill. In the year 1830 the movement for parliamentary reform came to a head. Lord Grey, the leader of the Whig party, became Prime Minister in November 1830 and asked Lord Durham to be chairman of a committee to prepare a reform bill. Durham's influence was certainly the strongest in the committee but Russell ably assisted him.

Since it had to be introduced in the House of Commons, and Grey and Durham were in the House of Lords, the task fell to Lord John Russell, who was not a peer, the "Lord John" being a courtesy title. On the 1st of March, 1831, Russell announced to an excited House: "We propose that every borough which appeared by the returns of 1821 to contain less than two thousand inhabitants shall lose the right of sending members to parliament" and went on to declare that other boroughs would lose one member each and to propose a uniform borough franchise for men occupying houses that paid an annual ten-pound rental.

The battle of debate raged in parliament for days and nights. When the critical vote was taken on the second reading, the numbers were announced as 302 for the bill and 301 against. The later Lord Macaulay, then a member of the Commons, wrote a remarkable letter to a friend: "It was like seeing Caesar stabbed in the Senate House, or seeing Oliver taking the mace from the table. . . . [When the numbers were announced] many of us shed tears. I could scarcely refrain. . . . [Of the opposition leaders] The jaw of Peel fell;

and the face of Twiss was as the face of a damned soul; and Herries looked like Judas taking his necktie off for the last operation. . . . We went out laughing and huzzaing into the lobby. . . . All the passages, and the stairs were thronged by people who had waited till four in the morning to know the issue. . . . All the way down they were shouting and waving their hats, till we got into the open air. I called a cabriolet, and the first thing the driver asked was, "Is the Bill carried?" "Yes, by one." "Thank God for it, sir."

The government could not carry the bill through the "committee" stage with a majority of only one, but that vote was actually decisive because it persuaded the King to grant a dissolution, and in the election that followed the bill received a safe majority. When the House of Lords rejected it, the proposal was made to advise the King to create enough new peers to force it through the Lords. After months of negotiation and excitement, the King refused to create enough peers and Grey resigned. Then the popular leaders including Francis Place, the London tailor who had managed many a Westminster election, planned an insurrection. It might not have been carried through, but there was plenty of popular agitation and troops were prepared for action. The Tory leader, the Duke of Wellington, influenced probably by his hatred of civil war, refused to take office. The King had to go back to Grey and promise to create enough peers to pass the bill. To avert that a number of Tory leaders announced their intention to stay away from the House of Lords, permitting the bill to pass. This marked a signal triumph of the House of Commons over the House of Lords. The threat to create peers that was so effective in this case was to be repeated in a similar clash between the two houses in 1911.

The Great Reform Bill destroyed the controlled boroughs for the most part. After some amendments in the original bill, one hundred and forty-three borough seats were transferred to other constituencies, mainly to previously unrepresented cities and large towns. In describing the franchise created by this Reform Bill—or that of the Second Reform Bill—details given in terms of figures are of little significance to the reader, because money values have changed so greatly and the old terminology of the conditions of renting are not easily intelligible. The general effect in the counties of the new franchise created by the First Reform Bill was to enfranchise long-term lease-holders of land of moderate value and other lease-holders of land of considerable value. But the great bulk of tenant-farmers were left without the vote. The principal effect of the Bill was in the boroughs, where a uniform ten-pound rental franchise was established. That almost completed the enfranchisement of the middle class. A few of that class, "white collar workers", could not afford to live in a ten-pound rental house. It also enfranchised an upper fringe of the urban working class who could afford to live in such a house. But the bulk of the lower class did not get the vote. Why, then, the popular agitation for the bill? Why the "thank God for it" of Macaulay's cabby and the wild rejoicing of the people when the bill was finally passed? It did not establish democracy but it placed Britain squarely on the road to democracy. To change the figure, it made that wide breach in the walls of oligarchy, through which the hosts of democracy later went pouring into the stronghold of government. The *uniformity* of the new franchise was important. Previous to this each borough had its own franchise. Now there was one franchise for the whole country. As each further step was taken along the road to democracy, it followed a simple uniform principle. Even under the ten-pound rental restriction more workingmen qualified for the vote as they became more prosperous. A considerable number of workingmen were voting before the next step was taken in the Second Reform Bill.

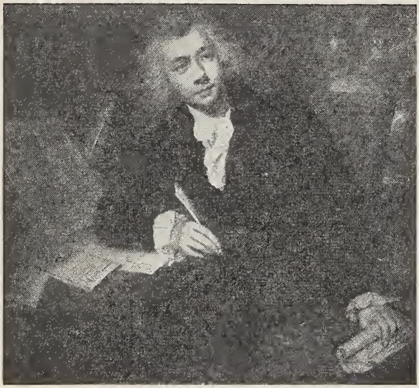
Abolition of the Slave Trade. One of the greatest reforms of the period of the Industrial Revolution, the abolition of the slave trade, was achieved long before 1832. The story of the slave trade is a horrible one—with its wars and raids and trickery in Africa to make slaves, the terrible "middle passage" in the most torrid of climates with the slaves packed together on shelves, the indescribable conditions during a storm, fever and disease and lashing. In the slave trade to Jamaica half of the negroes shipped from Africa died before the other half were set to work on the plantations.

The first protests came from the Quakers. Their founder, George Fox, took strong ground on both the slave trade and slavery. Resolutions were passed against both, and after 1761 no one could belong to the Society of Friends and have any connection with the slave trade or with slavery.

The Wesleyan Revival with its intense religious enthusiasm gave a new power to the humanitarianism of the eighteenth century. Those members of the Church of England who were most strongly under Wesleyan influence were called Evangelicals. With the single exception of Brougham, all of the great leaders of both the anti-slave trade and anti-slavery movements were Evangelicals and nearly all of them belonged to that extraordinary group of laymen, neighbours on Clapham Common, who were called "the Clapham sect." Their motives were deeply religious. The Quakers, who supplied the movement against the slave trade with leaders of the second rank, displayed a similar zeal.

Thomas Clarkson led the movement outside of parliament. He ran down every vestige of evidence against the evil, even to the extent of pursuing one important witness in port after port until he found him on the fifty-seventh ship on which he inquired. He organized outside parliament an effective propaganda which stirred the consciences of Englishmen. William Wilberforce led the movement in parliament.

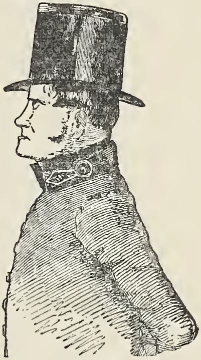
A good parliamentary speaker, his enthusiasm, courage and devotion kept the movement going for years in the face of bitter disappointments. Victory came in 1807 and after the passing of the bill abolishing the slave trade in the British Empire, Wilberforce's neighbours on Clapham Common went to his home to celebrate. "Well, Henry," said the gleeful host to one of them, "what shall we abolish next?" But they did not then propose to abolish slavery itself. There was a gap of sixteen years before an organized movement for the abolition of slavery began in 1823.



Coupland: Wilberforce (Clarendon)
WILBERFORCE

Other Reforms Before 1832. John Howard, who died in 1790, began a great movement for prison reform with a more decent and humane treatment of criminals. The Quakeress, Elizabeth Fry, zealously continued it and Sir Robert Peel had an important Prison Act passed in 1824. In 1823 Peel put through parliament four bills, which in their total effect, removed the death penalty for over a hundred offences; that was part of a general movement for humanizing the law. In 1829 he instituted the famous London police force to take the place of the old unsatisfactory watchmen. Better policing of the whole country followed. Another liberal Tory, Huskisson, took steps toward greater freedom of trade. He made important reductions in duties on exports, modified the Navigation Laws, and arranged reciprocity treaties with other countries. Important progress in religious toleration was made in this period. The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 removed disabilities from Dissenters and the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 opened parliament and practically all public offices to Catholics.

Legalization of Trade Unions. One of the greatest reforms of this period was effected by that interesting Radical tailor, Francis Place. The factory workingman was bound to be exploited as long as he stood alone. Laws called Combination Acts forbade workingmen combining to seek improvement in the conditions under which they worked. In 1824 Place succeeded in having the Combination Laws repealed. Trade unions were thus legalized for the first time. It was the beginning of a long development, giving a start to one of the most benevolent institutions in modern history.



A PEELER

The Harvest of Reform. Abolition of Slavery. A remarkable series of reforms followed immediately the passing of the Great Reform Bill. They were reforms for which the way had been prepared, which could not be passed through the old "unreformed parliament" but which the new voters desired. The organized movement for the abolition of slavery had been begun in 1823. Its great leaders were Brougham, the orator and dynamic energizer of the movement, Thomas Fowell Buxton, its most consistent and tireless advocate in the House of Commons, and Zachary Macaulay, father of Lord Macaulay, who was its organizer outside of parliament. As the result of a popular confusion of two movements, Wilberforce is still called "the great emancipator." As the great hero of the earlier movement for the abolition of the slave trade, he gave the drive for the abolition of slavery his blessing and his ardent interest, but he was too ill in these later years to do much for it. He gave his constant encouragement to the leaders and rejoiced on his deathbed to learn of the passing of the Emancipation Act. The evils of slavery were driven home to the consciences of the British people. Brougham, who was leading two other movements at the same time, popular education and law reform, put his finger on the basic evil of slavery when he said in one of his great speeches: "There is a law written on the heart of man by the finger of his Maker, and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, . . . men will reject with indignation the wild and guilty phantasy *that man can hold property in man.*"

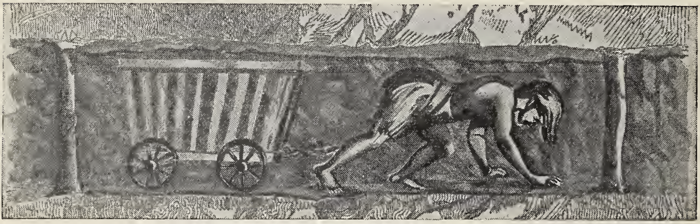
In the election for the first reformed parliament candidates of all parties were pledged to abolish slavery. The majority of elected members were so pledged and the government, responsible to public opinion as never before, had to act whether it liked it or not. So in 1833 an Emancipation Act was passed which went into operation on August 1, 1834. But while the legal status of slavery was abolished, an "apprenticeship" system was established by which the negroes worked for their masters for three-quarters of each day under what may be called mitigated conditions of slavery and were free to work for wages one-quarter of each day.

A wealthy Quaker named Joseph Sturge was informed of the evils of the apprenticeship system. He organized a commission of his own which went to the West Indies, investigated, and prepared a report. Brougham made a remarkable speech, based on Sturge's report, which started a movement which, although at first opposed by both political parties, swept the apprenticeship system out of existence in less than six months. August 1, 1838, was the first day of real freedom. The new law went into operation at midnight. In every church and chapel in the West Indies there were "watch-night" services between eleven and twelve. A missionary named Knibb, who had played a great part both there and in England, pointed to the hands of the clock and said "The monster is dying." On the last stroke of twelve he brought a mallet crashing down on the table before him and said: "The monster is dead and the negro is free."

The success of the British movement had a great influence on the American movement for the abolition of slavery. The names of the British leaders were exalted in America but the American problem was a much more difficult one.

Factory Legislation. One of the worst evils of the Industrial Revolution was child labour. There had been plenty of child labour in the feudal age and in the domestic industry before the Industrial Revolution. But children could tend the new machinery so well that their labour became a larger factor than ever, and they not only worked long hours for miserably low pay but frequently under conditions that approached those of slavery. Children were at first turned over to factory owners in droves from parish work-houses and city orphanages. Later, parents sent their children to the factories to increase the family income. The rigid discipline of the factories was felt most heavily by these children, who were frequently beaten by unscrupulous overseers. Public spirited individuals became interested and writers like Mrs. Browning with her "Cry of the Children" were influential, but here also organization was necessary. The organized movement began in 1830. In the middle of a Yorkshire election with one of the main issues the abolition of negro slavery, an Evangelical named Richard Oastler wrote a series of letters to a Leeds newspaper entitled "Yorkshire Slavery." The movement spread rapidly and Lord Shaftesbury, another Evangelical, became its leader in parliament. Almost immediately after the passing of the Great Reform Bill the government introduced and passed the first effective factory act in 1833.

Earlier factory legislation had not been enforced. This act, in addition to giving substantial relief to the children, provided for an effective system of inspection and enforcement. The Act of 1833 forbade the employment of children under nine; limited the hours of labour for those between nine and thirteen to forty-eight hours a week and not more than nine in any one day; and placed a sixty-nine hour a week limit, with not more than twelve hours in any one day, on the work of "young persons" between thirteen and eighteen.



WOMAN WORKING IN A MINE

From the Mines Report of 1842 which contained many sketches illustrating conditions.

Lord Shaftesbury went on to lead a movement for a Ten Hour Bill which was to limit the labour of "young persons" (between thirteen and eighteen) and women to ten hours a day, with the shorter day on Saturday. Lord Shaftesbury and his supporters appealed to humanitarian feelings on behalf of the young persons and women, but believing that if such legislation were passed the factories could not be kept running for more than ten hours, they were also aiming at a ten-hour day for men.

Shaftesbury also called attention to the bad conditions associated with the labour of women and children in the mines, who worked long hours dragging heavy trucks through low galleries, and succeeded in having the Mines Act of 1842 passed. The labour of women and young children below ground was entirely prohibited. The Ten Hour Factory Act was finally passed in 1847. But in the hour of triumph it was discovered that the manufacturers, by a skilful relay-system could comply with the law and still keep their factories open for a longer time. Lord Shaftesbury accepted a compromise which fixed the legal limit for women and young persons at ten hours and a half and limited the factories to twelve hours. So the men got a twelve-hour day and had to wait till Disraeli's act of 1874 for a ten-hour day. This movement was of course only the beginning of better factory legislation which has continued to the present.

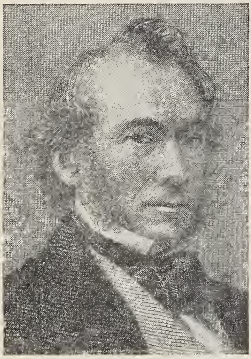
Poor Law Amendment. Late in the eighteenth century the Speenhamland system had fixed a minimum standard of living varying with the price of bread and giving extra allowances for each child in a family. If the income from wages did not come up to that standard, the parish was to pay the difference. It inevitably encouraged low wages and pauperism; it was unfair alike to decent employers, independently-minded workers, and the tax-payers who were really asked to subsidize unscrupulous employers who paid low wages and let the rate-payer worry. The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 was a well-intentioned effort to remedy the evils of this system. It continued relief for the aged and infirm, but required the able-bodied to enter workhouses. Its regulations were severe and the new workhouses were certainly cruel. They were purposely made as uncomfortable as possible to discourage the worker from seeking assistance from the state. The wisdom of the new Poor Law was a matter of bitter controversy. It helped to put an end to the system of doles, as a supplement to wages, which had tended to transform the workers into a pauper class. It tended to increase wages. Unfortunately, the early years of enforcement were hard, coinciding as they did with years of depression.

Municipal Reform. The reform of the municipal corporations in 1835 was a result of the Great Reform Bill. As has been already indicated, in many boroughs the "corporation" consisted of a council which was not elected and which filled vacancies in its own ranks. In a number of boroughs the corporations had already been made elective, prior to 1835. The Act of 1835 made all municipal councils elective. The measure was more democratic than the First Reform Bill; it gave the vote in municipal elections to all who paid local taxes. Municipal governments tended to become more efficient but most real improvements in the towns and cities in this period were made by local "improvement commissions" appointed by the central government rather than by the municipal governments old or new. After a long agitation for public health reform, the first national board of health was established in 1848 with power to create local boards of health. The new municipal councils did however in the period after 1850 come to play a very important role in the story of English progress which has continued to the present.

Chartism. While the British workingmen had rejoiced in the passing of the Great Reform Bill, they were disappointed that parliament did not follow it up by further measures in the same direction. In fact a speech by Lord John Russell in 1837 which repeated with greater emphasis the position that the bill of 1832 was a "finality" so far, at least, as that generation was concerned, had much to do with the publication of the People's Charter in 1838. Workingmen were also disappointed because of the failure of several vast schemes of union organization. Many of them were embittered by the Poor Law Amendment Act and more by depression conditions which developed at this time. Their leaders, Lovett and O'Connor, insisted that the workingmen must get the vote and must achieve effective power in parliament. The "six points" of the People's Charter were annual parliamentary elections, equal electoral districts, manhood suffrage, removal of property qualifications for members of parliament, the secret ballot, and payment of members of parliament. All of these demands had belonged to the program of the political party called the Radicals. But the Radical party was largely middle class and the Chartist organization was limited to workingmen with an honorary membership for others. The six points were conceived of as a means of achieving certain social results for workingmen.

There was great confusion of aims and methods. The leadership was poor. "Physical force" Chartists who urged general strikes and armed risings were at odds with "moral force" Chartists. One Chartist writer saw clearly enough that workingmen would have to win for themselves a large measure of education before a purely workingmen's association could hope for political success. During the first five years of the movement there was a certain amount of rioting and a small armed rising which was incidental but was severely punished and almost ended the agitation. It was revived in 1848, a revolution year throughout Europe, and the farcical petition to parliament at that time resulted in what was left of the movement being laughed out of existence. It must be remembered however that immediately after 1848 there began a period of unexampled prosperity for Great Britain, and that the Chartist movement had been born in economic discontent. In the years between the collapse of Chartism and the immediate eve of the Second Reform Bill there was little working class interest in parliamentary reform. But the ideals of the Chartists lived on and most of their aims were achieved in later years. Although annual parliamentary election was an impractical idea, electoral districts were brought nearer to an equality, the secret ballot was achieved in 1872 and the other points of the Great Charter were realized in the legislation of the early twentieth century.

The Repeal of the Corn Laws. Free Trade. The Anti-Corn-Law League was founded in the year after the publication of the People's Charter. It gave the support of one of the most elaborate and successful organizations in British history to an opposition to the corn laws that had begun as early as 1815. In that year a law was passed forbidding the importration of foreign corn—which, in this case, meant wheat—when the price of wheat fell below ten shillings a bushel. Later changes set up a sliding scale of duties varying with the price of wheat. This was obviously an attempt to protect the interests of the great landowners who at that time controlled legislation. People suffering from unemployment and high taxation in the aftermath of war could see only one aspect of the matter; dear wheat meant dear bread, and the wealthy landowners were benefiting from their poverty.



Hazen: Modern European History (Holt)
COBDEN

Supporting and giving leadership to this popular feeling was the driving power of the Industrial Revolution and the outlook of its leaders. They had no need of tariffs because they could undersell goods from anywhere in the world. They wished to get rid of foreign tariffs on British goods and they believed that that could be achieved only if Great Britain withdrew its corn laws and other duties on imports. Enabling foreign countries to export wheat to Great Britain would help those countries to buy British manufactures. And the repeal of the corn laws, since it would mean cheaper bread, would also make possible cheaper wages and reduce the cost of production. To sum up their position, they led the world industrially and needed to fear no rivals, so they believed that free trade would benefit them.

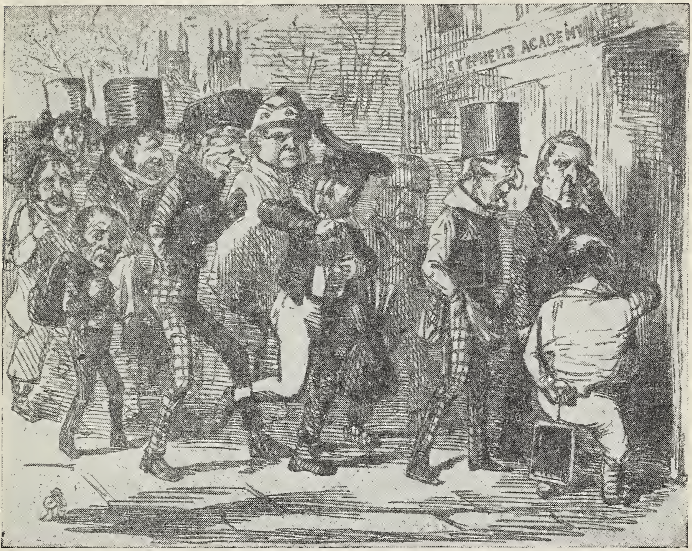
The Anti-Corn-Law League developed a campaign of "education" in which it made lavish use of money, speakers and pamphlets. The leaders were Richard Cobden and John Bright, both good speakers in sharply contrasted styles. Cobden made a conversational, common-sense type of speech backed by facts and figures; Bright spoke with enthusiasm and passion.

Sir Robert Peel came into power as head of a Conservative government in 1841 and made slashing reductions in the tariff. He moved rapidly in the direction of free trade but was unwilling to repeal the corn laws. In 1845 a failure of the potato crop in Ireland, coinciding with a failure of the wheat crop in Britain, brought the question to the fore in a striking fashion but Peel had already been converted by the arguments of the League. He repealed the corn laws in 1846 with the aid of the Liberals, and immediately afterwards a large section of his party abandoned him and forced his resignation.

PEEL

Peel had moved far in the direction of free trade, even before the repeal of the corn laws, and within a year of the latter, Russell's government had practically completed the establishment of free trade, except for the Navigation Laws which were repealed in 1849.

Education. More important, possibly, than any of these reforms was the advance made in this period in the education of the English people. In Scotland there had been for some time a fairly good school in every parish. In England the children of the upper class went to school but the education was not of a very high order. At the beginning of the period of the Industrial Revolution there were practically no schools in England for the lower class. One of the pioneer movements was that of the Sunday school, which was begun about 1780 by those who were anxious that the children of the poor should be taught to read the Bible; children, many of them factory children, were brought together for several hours on Sunday to be taught reading, and later a little writing and arithmetic. Day schools were also started, nearly all of them by persons actuated by religious motives, with education limited largely to "the three r's". Early in the nineteenth century a number of these schools adopted the Bell-Lancaster system, named after its rival founders. It was also called the "monitor system". It enabled one teacher to teach as many as five hundred pupils by selecting the brighter ones to whom a lesson was taught by rote and those monitors in turn taught it to the other pupils. Bad as that was educationally, and restricted of course to bare dull facts, it made possible the schooling of large numbers at a time when there was a strong prejudice against the education of the poor, little money available for that purpose, and no colleges to train teachers. The Lancastrian schools came to be conducted by the Royal Lancastrian Society which in 1814 evolved into the British and Foreign School Society. The Bible was emphasized but no denominational religious teaching was permitted. In 1811 the National Society was founded "for promoting the education of the poor in the principles of the established church". The rivalry between these two societies stimulated the extension of education. Between 1820 and 1834 the number of children in school was doubled, and by the latter date about sixty per cent. of the children of Lancashire, the great industrial county, were attending school. In 1833 came the first government grant for education. It was divided between the two societies and was to be used only for the building of schools. In the 1840's colleges were established for the training of teachers.



OPENING DAY AT ST. STEPHEN'S ACADEMY (House of Commons)

Punch cartoon of 1845 representing prominent political leaders as school-boys at the re-opening of school. Peel leads the procession, followed by Wellington. The tall boy with the queer nose is Brougham and immediately behind him is Lord John Russell. The boy farthest back with top hat and flowing locks is Disraeli.

The two English universities, Oxford and Cambridge, were largely aristocratic institutions. Nonconformists could not matriculate to Oxford or take degrees at Cambridge. In 1826 the University of London began its classes, open to all. This was the first university of a new, more democratic, type. It was founded by a group of Benthamites. Jeremy Bentham took a deep interest in the new university. He willed his body to the medical faculty for dissection, and to-day on festive occasions at the University of London, Bentham's skeleton is brought out and given an honoured place. An Anglican college, King's College, teaching the doctrines of the Church of England, was established, and in 1836 these two institutions were united to form the University of London, the earlier one taking the name of University College.

A great movement for adult education was begun in the 1820's with the establishment of the Mechanics' Institutes. These were centres providing popular lectures, libraries and reading-rooms for workingmen. By 1850 there were over six hundred of them in England and Scotland. The movement spread overseas and many of the public libraries of Ontario developed out of Mechanics' Institute libraries. At the same time the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge published cheap books for the poor on all sorts of subjects, including a Penny Encyclopedia, and a Penny Biographical Dictionary (the direct ancestor of the great Dictionary of National Biography) each of which sold for a penny a volume.

The greatest of the leaders of this educational movement was Brougham. He was prominent in the Royal Lancastrian Society and the British and Foreign School Society, was the principal founder of the University of London, the energizing genius of the Mechanics' Institutes (the founder was Professor George Birkbeck) and the sole founder of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. In the meantime Brougham led a very important movement for law reform, simplifying legal procedure and making justice cheaper and more accessible for those of limited means, as well as putting an end to the terrible delays in the courts, particularly the

Court of Chancery, which had constituted one of the greatest evils of the preceding period.

SUGGESTIONS

1. The most important dates in this chapter may be placed in your general time chart but a special chart for Great Britain alone in this period with dates under various headings might be useful.

2. Many of the problems faced by the Age of Reform were not completely solved by it. What has been done in this province recently in the way of factory legislation? What, in your opinion, remains to be done?

3. The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 was both a success and a failure. Is unemployment insurance a full solution? Have you any ideas on the subject of the relief of poverty?

CHAPTER XVII

LIBERAL AND REACTIONARY FORCES IN EUROPE

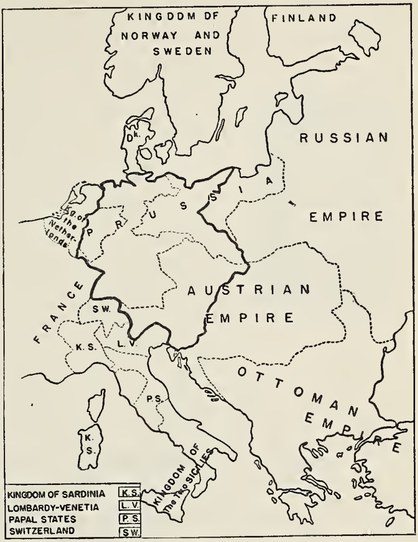
Liberalism. The word "liberal" is used in so many different ways that its meaning frequently depends on the noun to which the adjective is attached. But historians are in general agreement about what is meant by liberalism in relation to the European continent in the period following the Napoleonic wars. It includes a movement for getting rid of absolutism; the limitation of the power of the ruler by a constitution, usually a written constitution; insistence on the guaranteeing of certain fundamental liberties, such as religious liberty and the freedom of the press, of speech, and of public assembly; the protection of individual liberty by trial by jury; equality in some sense, such as equality before the law or equality of opportunity. In some places and with some persons it also included a measure of democracy, that is, government by the people. In countries where it had not been achieved, it implied the abolition of serfdom.

Practically all of these liberal ideas had their roots in the history and institutions of Great Britain. Both ideas and institutions had been transferred to the United States where they had been strengthened. They were embodied in the French Revolution, whose events did much to emphasize them for other countries with two results, their enthusiastic adoption by many persons in those countries and a strong reaction against them on the part of other persons. The soldiers in Napoleon's armies carried them into many parts of Europe. Napoleon, as we have already seen, championed some of them while at the same time he was a despot who repressed liberty in many respects. One important result of the French Revolution and the activities of Napoleon was a struggle throughout Europe in the following period between liberal and reactionary forces, while in Great Britain, the birth-place of these freedoms, new conceptions of liberalism were, in that same period, being translated into legislation.

Nationalism. Nationalism, like liberalism, has many meanings. It means, of course, patriotism, an intense devotion to one's nation or state. It means bringing matters like religion or trade under the control of the state; we have seen nationalism expressing itself in state-churches and in mercantilism. It also means the desire of the people of a certain area to have a government for that area. In that sense the force of nationalism was strong in the later mediaeval centuries, broke down feudalism and localism in France for instance, and established national taxation, national justice and control of a national state over the whole of a large territory. In that period the nation-states of England, France and Spain were formed. In that sense there was in 1815 no German nation and no Italian nation. Nationalism became one of the strongest forces of the nineteenth century, and the desire of a people in a certain area to have a government for that area resulted in a movement to unite smaller states into a national union, a German nation for instance, or an Italian nation. And at the same time it found expression in movements to break up large states, as in the case of Austria, where the Czech people inhabiting a certain area, the Hungarian people and other peoples, desired each to have its own independent government. Such movements were in themselves dependent on what we call national feeling. Race has something to do with that, but a common language, a common culture and the development of a certain feeling of oneness, of unity, which is itself created by history, are more important factors.

The French Revolution did much to stimulate nationalism. Frenchmen fought for the republic against its enemies with a more intense devotion than a limited number of them had shown in fighting for the kings of France. An army of the people was created. Napoleon built his armies on the same basis, but he added to them soldiers from various European nations, who frequently caught a national feeling for their countries from the nationalism of the French soldiers. The call of the leaders of the French Revolution to all subject peoples in Europe to throw off the rule of their tyrants stimulated nationalism as well as liberalism. Napoleon helped to create a feeling for national union in Germany when he formed combinations of states which resulted in the reduction of the number of separate states in Germany from over three hundred to thirty-eight. When he established what was called "the kingdom of Italy", although it was limited in character, he revived the old dreams of Dante and Petrarch of a day when the people of the Italian peninsula would be united in one Italian nation. At the same time, Napoleon's tyranny, including his Continental System, stirred up national revolts against his rule, particularly in Spain, Austria, Prussia and Russia. The spirit of these national revolts spread throughout the whole of Europe and nationalism in one form or another was a strong force at the time when the Congress of Vienna met to re-make the map of Europe and settle European problems after the abdication of Napoleon. Another potent force was the reaction against both liberalism and nationalism (particularly the nationalism of smaller peoples). That reaction had found an able and determined leader in Prince Metternich, Austrian Minister in control of the government of that country.

The Congress of Vienna Turns its Back on Nationalism. Both in appearance and in conduct the Congress of Vienna indicated that in many respects the old regime in Europe was very much alive. It was a brilliant gathering of the representatives of royalty and aristocracy. The entertainment was lavish; the Austrian government spent sixteen million dollars on entertainment alone. "The emperors dance," it was reported, "the kings dance, Metternich dances, Castlereagh dances." One nobleman, who died during the congress, said as death approached: "I am preparing for the members of the Congress a new amusement; the obsequies of a Field Marshal, a Cavalier of the Golden Fleece." The jest was in the spirit of the old regime.


KINGDOM OF NORWAY AND SWEDEN
FINLAND
DK.
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
PRUSSIA
K. of the Netherlands
FRANCE
SW.
K. S.
L. V.
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
P.S.
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
K. S.
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA K.S.
LOMBARDY-VENETIA L.V.
PAPAL STATES P.S.
SWITZERLAND SW.

EUROPE AFTER CONGRESS OF VIENNA
The heavy line bounds the German Bund.

Much was said about the principle of "legitimacy", that is the restoration of the governments of Europe as they had been when the French Revolution began. But the principle was violated as frequently as it was followed. The fear of France dominated the Congress. It established a policy of creating buffer states adjacent to France. Prussia was given new territory on both sides of the Rhine. No attempt was made to restore the small German states suppressed by Napoleon and after 1815 there were only thirty-eight German states. The first serious blow to nationalism came in the union of what had been the Austrian Netherlands, now Belgium, with Holland in order to create a strong buffer state. But the people of Belgium would have preferred to have their own independent state. So would the Poles, the Finns and the Norwegians. They were traded around from one state to the other. Napoleon had given the Poles the hope of having a state of their own. But the Congress restored to Russia the part of Poland that it had previously ruled. Russia was also given Finland which had belonged to Sweden. In compensation Sweden was given Norway which had belonged to Denmark. Austria asked for and received the northern part of Italy—Lombardy and Venetia—as compensation for having given up the Austrian Netherlands. The bargain was a good one for Austria; it was adjacent territory, and with an indirect control of small states in central Italy it enabled Austria to dominate the peninsula. But the Napoleonic period had brought to the Italians also the hope of forming an Italian state ruled by Italians. The future was to show that the Congress of Vienna sowed the seeds of nationalist revolts in Belgium, Poland, and Italy, and discontent in Finland and Norway.

The Quadruple Alliance. To safeguard the arrangements made at Vienna, the Quadruple Alliance was formed, consisting of Austria, Great Britain, Russia and Prussia. It planned and carried through a succession of congresses to deal with matters which threatened the Vienna decisions. After 1818 France was admitted to the alliance.

Metternich, the Leader of Reaction. Prince Metternich had won the reputation of being the greatest statesman in Europe and had become the favourite and counsellor of the crowned heads of the great states. Metternich was an aristocrat by birth and sentiment. He loved the old regime, the good old days of aristocracy before what to him was the horror of the French Revolution broke across Europe. All the new institutions and the new ideas which had been born in his generation he hated. Liberal ideas would destroy the world if they were not crushed. There was an inexpressible danger in even the contemplation of constitutions and parliaments. But the greatest of his hatreds was that of the French Revolution. He described it as "the disease which must be cured, the volcano which must be extinguished, the hydra with jaws open to swallow up the social order". All further efforts at revolution anywhere in Europe were to be crushed unmercifully. While Metternich's determined opposition to democracy, nationalism, and personal liberty were sincere enough, any Austrian minister at that time would have realized that with a number of self-conscious nationalities under Austrian rule, the spread of any of those forces—democracy, nationalism, liberalism—would be fatal to Austrian control over them.

METTERNICH

Metternich's German Policies. In Austria itself Metternich saw to it that newspapers and theatres were rigorously censored, and books with liberal ideas were stopped at the border. Spies were planted in university lecture-rooms, and no one was allowed to go abroad to study. Very little teaching of history or economics was permitted.

Metternich sought to extend that system to all the German states but he could not act outside of Austria so openly and so swiftly. Liberal student organizations made some headway and some German states established written constitutions with the right of free speech and freedom of the press. Then two or three assassinations of officials gave Metternich his excuse to strike. In 1815 a loose union—or league—of German states called the Bund had been established. Metternich now persuaded the Diet of the Bund—composed of representatives of the German rulers—to pass the Carlsbad Decrees. These decrees established a press censorship throughout Germany; placed all German universities under rigorous supervision; ordered the dismissal of all liberal professors and the abolition of the more liberal student societies; and set up a special commission with arbitrary powers to spy on and suppress all expression of opinion which was not in the interest of the German people, which meant liberal opinion. While Metternich used united German action to achieve these ends, he was determined to prevent any movement for German unification. He knew that while Austria could dominate a loose league of states she would not be able to control a united German nation and would not be permitted to carry her non-German subject peoples into such a national union.

Metternich's European Policies. While Metternich could not apply his German system to all of Europe, he was determined to use the Quadruple Alliance to crush any strong movement of liberalism, or of nationalism of a subject people, anywhere in Europe, particularly if it took the form of a revolution. He believed that the great powers united in that alliance should "intervene" in any European state to effect that end. Prussia and Russia were willing to co-operate in that; Great Britain was not. Castlereagh had to play the difficult role of preserving the alliance but opposing Metternich's extreme policy. Canning, who succeeded Castlereagh, built his policy on Castlereagh's, but he was in a position to display a more rigorous and sensational opposition, and appealed to public opinion in a way that Castlereagh had never done.

European Revolutions. Spain. In Spain a fairly democratic constitution had been established in 1812. But the king managed to abolish it. Liberalism was not really strong in Spain, but the king proceeded to misgovern the country. Among other things, he treated the army very badly. The Spanish colonies in America had revolted and, when a military force was gathered to send against them, the army staged a revolution in Spain in 1820 which forced the king to restore the constitution. Metternich and his allies decided to "intervene" in Spain and a French army was used for the purpose. The French invasion restored the absolute power of the king and the "Society of the Exterminating Angel" hunted down liberals as ruthlessly as Jews were later hunted down by the Nazis in Germany. Metternich's next move was to be the re-conquest of the Spanish colonies which had revolted in America, but that was blocked by Britain.

Italy. The experience of Spain was almost exactly repeated in the Kingdom of Naples in the south of Italy and in Piedmont in the north where revolutions in 1820 and 1821 were inspired by the Spanish revolution. Constitutions were granted, Metternich and his allies "intervened", this time with an Austrian army, and liberals were subjected to the cruelest punishments. In 1831 a revolution broke out in the central states of Italy. Austria intervened. So did France, but to check Austria. The revolution collapsed.

Greece. The feeling of nationalism roused the Greeks who were under Turkish rule and in 1821 they felt that they were ready to fight for their independence. For six years Turks and Greeks fought bitterly in a war that knew no rules and was marked by wholesale massacres of non-combatants. Liberals in many European countries sympathized with Greece, whose culture had so enriched the western world. They formed societies to help the Greeks. The English poet Byron wrote:

> The mountains look on Marathon
> And Marathon looks on the sea.
> And musing there an hour alone,
> I dreamed that Greece might still be free.

But he did more than write. With many other liberals he joined the Greek army and he died of fever as a result of over-exertion in organizing the Greek resistance. Such help however could not save Greece unless some strong European state acted. For a time Metternich prevented that. Russia, whose policies were opposed to Turkey, and whose people belonged to the same church as the Greeks, was prepared to act in support of Greece. Great Britain and France took a similar position. In 1829 Greece became an independent state, her independence guaranteed by Great Britain, Russia, and France.

The German States. In 1830, a year which saw revolutions in many countries, a few of the smaller states of Germany experienced revolutions that were successful enough to establish written constitutions. But these events enabled Metternich to frighten the other German rulers into more repressive measures in respect to universities and popular assemblies. So Metternich's grip on Germany was stronger than ever.

France. French liberals were not satisfied with crusading for the Greek people. They were dissatisfied with the state of affairs at home. When the Bourbon monarchy had been restored after the Napoleonic Wars many of the achievements of the Revolution had been retained, but the king had been given a strong position and a high property franchise had given political power to wealthy men. Then a new king, Charles X, had succeeded to the throne and appeared to be working in the direction of restoring the old regime of pre-revolutionary days. As he tightened his own authority he introduced drastic measures of censorship and suppression of liberty that resembled those of Metternich in Germany. The result was a revolution in July 1830 which forced the abdication of Charles X, brought a popular ruler to the throne in the person of Louis Philippe, and strengthened the principle of parliamentary rule.

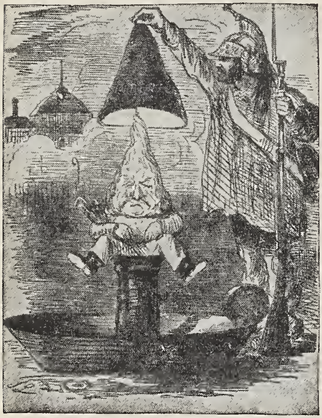
Belgium. The "July Revolution" in France inspired a revolution in Belgium in the same year. We have seen how

Belgium had remained under Spanish rule when the Dutch won their independence. Then came the rule of another foreign power, Austria. In 1815 the Belgians had wanted an independent state of their own, but were forced by the great powers into a union with Holland. The language and religious differences between Belgians and Dutch have been noted. The years between 1815 and 1830 brought increasing dissatisfaction to the Belgians. In 1830 riots developed into revolution, and Belgian independence was declared. Austria, Russia and Prussia were opposed to recognizing it. But a Polish revolution, which ultimately failed, gave Russia plenty to attend to at home, and the liberal powers, Great Britain and France, insisted on the recognition of the new independent state.

The Revolutions of 1848. In spite of Metternich, there had now been four successful revolutions—in the Spanish colonies, Greece, France, and Belgium. Three of them had produced new nations. Clearly the forces of liberalism and nationalism were making progress against the forces of reaction. The liberal leaders of the countries were in constant communication with one another and were looking for new victories. In the year 1848 throughout Europe the new forces attempted to break through the old barriers.

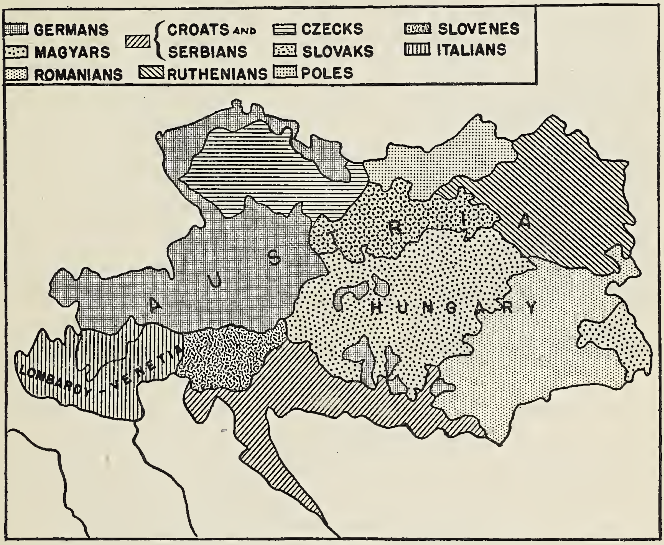
France. The revolution of 1830 in France was followed by an extension of the franchise but the middle class was still the controlling factor in the electorate. Those who desired further steps in democracy were disappointed. And the extreme liberals would be satisfied with nothing but a republic. The monarchy defended itself by establishing a severe censorship against republicans. The Industrial Revolution was developing in France in these years but no factory legislation was passed. General discontent because of the failure to effect reforms strengthened socialism. Demand for reform became more insistent in 1847 and still it was refused.

Republicans and socialists took the lead in effecting the revolution of 1848 which forced the abdication of Louis Philippe. The Second Republic was established, but the majority of Frenchmen were not socialists and were not even republicans. After manhood suffrage was re-established, the people of France elected a legislature two-thirds of whom were monarchists and elected as president of the republic Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of the great Napoleon, who in 1851 seized control of the government by a display of force and in 1852 made himself Emperor of France under the title of Napoleon III.


Punch

LOUIS PHILIPPE "PUT OUT"

Austria. As in 1830, a revolution in France was the spark that kindled revolution in other European countries, but in 1848 the conflagration was even more wide-spread. In the Austrian empire, the Austrians, who were Germans, ruled a number of non-German peoples. These peoples had caught the spirit of nationalist revolt. The most aggressive of them were the Magyars in Hungary and the Czechs in Bohemia. In Hungary, which was a component part of the Austrian Empire, the Magyars were the strongest racial group, but there were a number of non-Magyar peoples. The Hungarian world was still a feudal one with the nobility dominating the scene but a great liberal had come to the front in the person of Kossuth, a newspaper editor who led a movement to modernize and democratize Hungary, to obtain large rights of self-government, and to secure the rights of the Magyar language. The news of the revolution in France had hardly reached the Austrian capital, Vienna, when one of Kossuth's fiery speeches bitterly attacking the Austrian government was published in that city. Acting under the double stimulus a mob of students and workingmen began rioting in Vienna and shouting "Down with Metternich". In fear of his life, Metternich fled from the city in disguise, and made his way to England, the haven of political refugees of all types of opinion.


GERMANS
MAGYARS
ROMANIANS
CROATS AND SERBIANS
RUTHENIANS
CZECKS
SLOVAKS
POLES
SLOVENES
ITALIANS
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
LOMBARDY-VENETIA

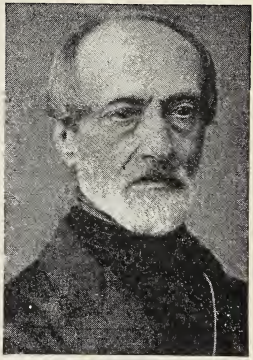
RACES IN THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE, 1848

Then Hungary, under Kossuth's leadership, abolished the old feudal rights, established the modern freedoms, and declared itself self-governing with its own army and flag, but with the Austrian Emperor still its nominal sovereign. The Czechs in Bohemia, who for years had been contending for their own language, took similar action, although somewhat less extreme in character. Then in Italy, Lombardy-Venetia, an Austrian province, threw off the Austrian yoke and all Italy seemed to be united in an effort to free itself from foreign rule.

Hazen: Modern European History (Holt)
KOSSUTH

The Austrian authorities had for centuries pursued a policy of "Divide and rule". They still knew how to play that game and they did it skilfully. They also had a powerful army and able generals at their disposal. In Bohemia they fomented the old feud between the Czech majority and the German minority and divisions of the Czechs among themselves. Then an Austrian army succeeded in re-conquering Bohemia and crushing the revolution there. Jealousies between the Italian states were also encouraged and rivalries between Italian republicans and monarchists. And Austrian military victories first checked and then crushed the Italian resistance. In Hungary the Magyars made the mistake of insisting on the non-Magyar peoples adopting the Magyar language and in general tyrannizing over them. The result was that the south Slavs, the Serbs and Croats, rose against the Magyars. Finally, the Russian government, a Slav power, opposed to revolutions in general, played the old Metternich role and intervened to help the Austrians to crush the Hungarian revolt in 1849.

The Other German States. Early in 1848 the spirit of revolution spread to Berlin, the Prussian capital, where the king was forced to grant a constitution. But the great German movement of that year was one for uniting all the German people in one state. An agitation for that had been going on for some time and the successful establishment of an all-German custom union or Zollverein had strengthened the desire for political union. Taking advantage of the general chaos in 1848, German liberals had an assembly elected which met at Frankfort to prepare a constitution for a German national state. The debaters at Frankfort wasted precious months in arguing, in German fashion, about abstract principles and petty details. But their greatest difficulty was Austria. If Austria were admitted to a German state along with all her non-German peoples, the state would not be German and it would be dominated by Austria. But Austria would not consent to go in without her non-German subjects, and would not permit a German union with Austria left out. The Frankfort Assembly also laboured under the disadvantage of not having an army. When the king of Prussia refused the offer of the sovereignty of all Germany through fear of Austria and contempt for the liberals, the Frankfort movement collapsed. Then Austria successfully insisted on the restoration of the Bund.



Hazen: Modern European History (Holt)

MAZZINI

Italy. The relation of Italy to the revolution of 1848 has been indicated briefly in the preceding account. It should be added that a vital movement for Italian unification had been going on for some time under the leadership of Mazzini, who was one of the greatest of the European liberals of his time, a man of noble character and pure idealism. He organized an effective society called "Young Italy". Mazzini was anything but a statesman. His role was to rouse the spirit of the people.

Results. The outward and more apparent results of this series of revolutions have been indicated. They seemed everywhere to spell defeat. German liberals were bitterly discouraged and many of them emigrated to America. But there were some gains. A few constitutions remained. That of Prussia took a form that played into the hands of the wealthy and was anything but democratic, but was at least a constitution and established a sort of parliament, though an unsatisfactory one. The constitution established in Sardinia or Piedmont was really liberal. And that one Italian government had by its aggressiveness and valour won the confidence of Italians everywhere. It was destined to be the nucleus of a later successful movement for Italian unification. Even in Hungary some of the old feudal customs, including serfdom, disappeared forever. The Czechs felt more encouragement than despair. The German states learned what were the most serious obstacles to unification.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Write a statement on the good and evil wrought by nationalism in the history which you have studied.
2. Describe the good and evil results of nationalism in our time.
3. Are there any further conclusions which you can draw from these two statements?
4. Compare the peace settlement of 1815 (Vienna) with the settlement of 1919 (commonly termed Versailles).
5. Compare the difficulties of British foreign policy after 1815 with its difficulties today.
6. Read further and write a brief essay on Kossuth.

CHAPTER XVIII

NATIONALISM AND LIBERALISM IN AMERICA (TO 1850)

Spanish American Revolutions. The forces of nationalism and liberalism were finding expression in America in these years as well as in Europe. Both had been manifested in the eighteenth century in the American Revolution which had influenced the European development. Then the French Revolution and the European movements, as well as the memory of the American Revolution, awakened the sentiments of nationalism and liberalism in the Spanish American colonies. Before 1808 those who desired independence were very few but the American-born agitated for equality of treatment and of opportunity as over against those who came from Spain and who monopolized the good positions in both state and church. A few unsuccessful revolts on the part of the American-born taught them their strength and encouraged them to look hopefully toward the future.

Then in 1808 the mother country, Spain, was practically annexed by France. Spanish feeling against Napoleon was reflected in the Spanish American colonies and just as in old Spain unofficial local governments called *juntas* were set up, so the radicals in new Spain took advantage of the situation to establish similar juntas. The juntas deposed the old officials and established self-government under the nominal authority of the deposed King of Spain. But these revolutionary governments were weak, and, with one exception, they were suppressed and the old officials restored. This weakening of Spain's authority had, however, given the colonies a taste of self-government and freedom of trade, which they had not enjoyed before. Then after the overthrow of Napoleon and restoration of the previous rule in Spain, a second revolutionary wave swept through Spanish America in 1817, under the brilliant generalship of San Martin and Bolivar, some of the old governments were overthrown, and by 1823 most of the colonies had become independent republics.

Great Britain and the United States were both keenly interested in these developments. They naturally welcomed the successful efforts of people struggling for their freedom. There were economic interests also. Great Britain had been quick to take advantage of the new opportunities for trade with Spanish America which opened up during the Napoleonic period. British interests had financed and armed the revolutionary armies and supplied the new republics with capital. Although lagging behind the British, American business interests were also active.

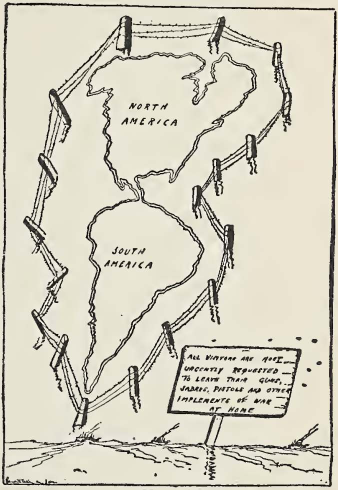
The Monroe Doctrine. At the time of the intervention in the revolution which broke out in Spain in 1820 there was talk of Metternich and his allies intervening in America in order to restore the new republics to Spanish rule. France was ambitious to obtain some of this territory for itself. In August 1823, Canning, the British foreign secretary, suggested to the American ambassador in London that Great Britain and the United States should make a joint declaration to the effect that they would not permit the new American republics to pass into the hands of any other power, and that neither Britain nor the United States "aimed at the possession of any portion of them". The American government took four months to think over Canning's proposal.

In the meantime it was well known among the European powers that Canning was determined to prevent any attempt to intervene in what had been the Spanish American colonies. And in October Canning obtained from France an engagement that that country would not intervene. With the

French navy neutralized in that manner and the British navy in control of the seas in any case, Canning had Metternich and his associates blocked, and they recognized that fact. So it was Great Britain that saved the new republics from intervention at that time. When American naval strength became greater, they were protected by the United States.

President Monroe was at first personally favourable to Canning's suggestion of a joint statement. But his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, persuaded him to make a pronouncement for the United States alone rather than follow in the wake of Great Britain.

In December 1823, President Monroe sent a message to Congress (the famous Monroe Doctrine), indicating clearly certain lines of policy on the part of the American government. In relation to the new republics it said: "We owe it to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers [the great European nations] to declare that we should consider any attempt to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies and dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments which have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence . . . we have acknowledged, we


NORTH AMERICA
SOUTH AMERICA
ALL VISITORS ARE MOST URGENTLY REQUESTED TO LEAVE THEIR GUNS, SABRES, PISTOLS AND OTHER IMPLEMENTS OF WAR AT HOME

Hendrik Willem van Loon

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

The sign reads: "All visitors are most urgently requested to leave their guns, sabres, pistols, and other implements of war at home."

could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any manner their destiny, by any other European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

At the same time, the government of the United States was concerned about Russian advances on the Pacific coast, where the Czar had granted large trading rights to a Russian company and forbidden foreign vessels to trade with that stretch of coast. Part of President Monroe's message was aimed directly at Russia but embodied a far-reaching general principle of policy: "The American continents . . . are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power."

It has been usually believed that in the Monroe Doctrine the government of the United States also undertook to have nothing to do with European affairs. This is an exaggeration. What President Monroe said was: "In the wars of the European powers *in matters relating to themselves* we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only *when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced* that we resent injuries and make preparation for our defence. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected."

President Monroe's famous statement did not make any great stir among the nations at the time. Britain had already prevented European action. The United States was not then a great power and possessed no considerable naval strength. What the nations did take seriously was the British navy which alone could enable the United States to maintain such a policy. In the United States the message was received with acclaim. Its independent ring, its manliness and openness appealed to Americans. Its real importance belonged to the future, where it was to play a very important role in American foreign policy and, after the United States acquired greater strength, it became a very important factor in world affairs. It must always be borne in mind that the Monroe Doctrine was not a law or a treaty. It was simply a statement of policy on the part of one president, adherence to which has been repeated by other presidents. It has in effect given the United States a particular part to play in regard to America and has also been made, rather illogically, an excuse for isolationism.

Jacksonian Democracy. Before 1824 American politics had been dominated by the eastern part of the country, close to the Atlantic. No man who lived west of the Alleghenies had been elected president. And in that eastern section it was "the better people", those with "social background", who interested themselves in politics and from whom candidates were selected. Those active in political life were men who were educated and trained for their tasks and had obtained a wide knowledge of public questions. And it was believed, rightly or wrongly, that the business interests which were dominant in that eastern section frequently called the tune in politics. All that was to be changed in a few years. The change has been associated with the name of Andrew Jackson. He was however the embodiment rather than the creator of the new forces which effected something like a revolution in American politics.

Those forces had their sources in the American west, by which was meant at that time everything west of the Alleghenies, and particularly on the western frontier in the Mississippi region. The western farmers had developed a habit, when things went wrong with them, of blaming everything on eastern bankers and manufacturers. It was high time, they believed, that the west took a real part in politics. And they did not believe in government by "better people". Among themselves they recognized no such distinction and there was a sense of natural equality that was more real than anything in the theories of Rousseau. They wanted government by "the common man". The common man, they thought, did not need any special preparation for politics by training, experience, or "background". All he needed was to know what the people wanted. He should be like the average man because he had to represent him. One result of these ideas that came out of the west and captured American public life to a considerable extent has been the fact that some presidents of the United States have been men of mediocre abilities that have been quite inadequate for that important office. What is known as Jacksonian democracy not only meant more democracy but it meant conceptions of the way in which democracy should work that had in them both vital strength and serious danger to the state.

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A PIONEER'S CABIN

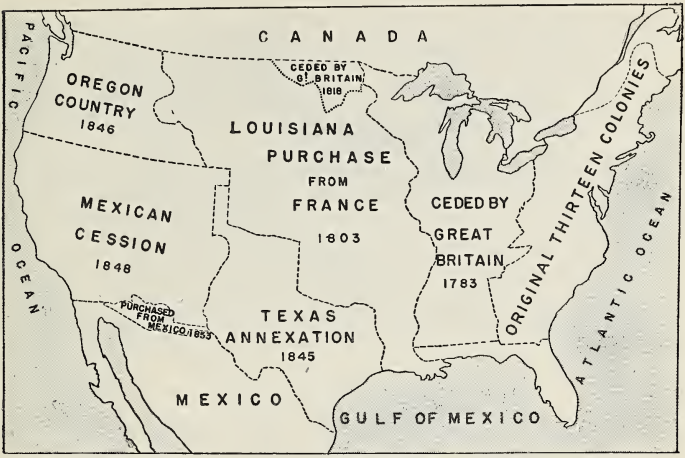
In the election of 1824 General Andrew Jackson polled the largest vote in the electoral college but failed to secure a majority. The House of Representatives selected John Quincy Adams. Jackson's friends raised the cry that the scheming eastern politicians had stolen the presidency from the people's man, the common man from Tennessee. Jackson said: "Let the people rule," and began very early his campaign for the next election. The people were in a mood to rule. And it was to be the whole people. Many western states had recently adopted a franchise establishing or approaching manhood suffrage and the east was being forced into line in that respect. In the election of 1824 only five per cent. of the voters in Massachusetts and in Pennsylvania had taken the trouble to go to the polls. The voting in 1828 showed that the common people had been roused to a vital interest in politics. It was said that the United States was not a democracy because of something that was written into the Declaration of Independence. The people must make it a democracy.

Andrew Jackson was himself no mediocrity and his abilities were much above the average, but he was a military hero, the character of whose exploits—against the British and the Indians—was particularly attractive to the average American at that time. And he had the only kind of "background" that was really respected in the west. He had been born in a log cabin, had fought poverty in his youth, and had by courageous efforts won for himself a legal education. He became something of a judge and very much of a soldier. He was supposed to know something of everybody's troubles. Jackson was elected by a large majority, the farmers and working men of the east supporting the democracy of the west.

A feature of Jacksonian democracy was "the spoils system", named after the saying "To the victors belong the spoils." There had been a certain amount of it in connection with state governments. Jackson nationalized it. There were more dismissals from office in the national administration, during the first few weeks of his presidency than there had been in forty years. All of those jobs went to Jackson's political supporters. Jackson's sweep, which seemed to be revolutionary at the time, was only the beginning of more wholesale operations in subsequent administrations. Jackson himself was an honest man who did not realize what unfortunate results might ensue. He believed, wrongly in many cases, that those whom he dismissed were the corrupt tools of avaricious interests and he was determined to "purge" the administration. He was also influenced by a belief that frequent changes in government positions would give the common people a better knowledge of government and its problems.

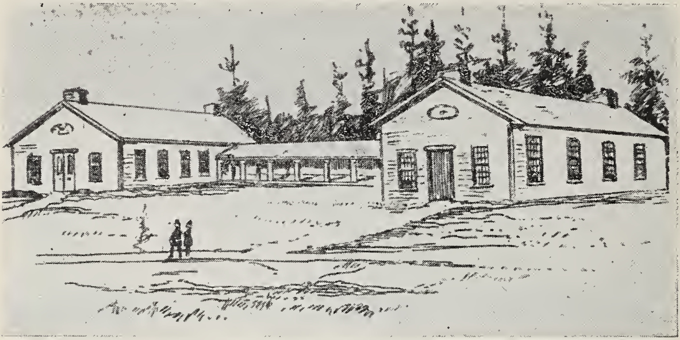
Jackson was on the whole a good president. When he stood for re-election in 1832 the candidates for the presidency were nominated in a new and more democratic manner. Previously a caucus of members of Congress of a particular party chose the party candidate and sometimes state legislatures put forward a candidate. Now each party chose its candidate in a national convention of the party which at the same time formulated a party platform. Jackson's party did not hold the first of these conventions but it was the spirit of Jacksonian democracy that found expression in the new practice.

Jacksonian democracy was nationalist and imperialist. The people of the west wanted their interests protected by strong central government and they were impatient about talk of state sovereignty. When the State of South Carolina proposed to "nullify" the operation within that state of a tariff measure of Jackson's government on the ground that it was unconstitutional, "Old Hickory" was prepared to use military force. "Tell them," he said, "if one South Carolina finger be raised in defiance of this government, I'll come down there, and once I'm there, I'll hang the first man I lay hands on to the first tree I can reach." Such a statement might give offence to the planter aristocracy of the south, but it was heartily applauded by the democracy which supported Jackson. And that democracy not only wanted the central government to be strong; it wanted to see more and more territory further west brought under the rule of the United States. Thus Jacksonian democracy was imperialist.


CANADA
PACIFIC OCEAN
OREGON COUNTRY 1846
CEDED BY G^T BRITAIN 1818
LOUISIANA PURCHASE FROM FRANCE 1803
CEDED BY GREAT BRITAIN 1783
ORIGINAL THIRTEEN COLONIES
MEXICAN CESSION 1848
PURCHASED FROM MEXICO 1853
TEXAS ANNEXATION 1845
MEXICO
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN

WESTWARD EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES

Responsible Government in British North America. To the north of the United States, in British North America, the forces of liberalism and nationalism were also gaining strength in these days. Liberalism may be said to go back to the establishment of representative government in Nova Scotia in 1758, in New Brunswick in 1784 and in Upper and Lower Canada in 1791. Relatively speaking the franchise was a democratic one in each case and, although the elected assemblies were limited in their powers, there was enough of democracy for Canada to be regarded now as one of the oldest democracies in the world. The forces of nationalism and liberalism owed much to the American Revolution. The Loyalists brought with them from the American colonies an experience of democratic institutions and an attachment to them. And for all their feeling for the British connection, their insistence on self-government—as over against government from London—was equally strong. In the British North America of the early nineteenth century, as in the American Revolution, there was an incipient nationalism breaking through the fetters that would bind it, the desire of a people to control its own government. No one can read the liberal newspapers, particularly in the 1830's, without feeling that strongly.



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BEGINNINGS OF DEMOCRACY
First Parliament Buildings in Upper Canada

The direct influence of Jacksonian democracy on Canada was probably not very strong but it may have helped to make the operation of the spoils system more general in Upper Canada. The influence of American thought and practice in the Canadas is shown in the suggestions for government proposed by radical leaders on the eve of the Rebellion of 1837. But in all of British North America there was a prejudice against things American and the stronger pull was toward Great Britain. Certainly the liberal influences emanating from Great Britain were the strongest forces playing on Canadian life from the outside. Of course, all English-speaking Canadians were the heirs of liberal conceptions and liberal institutions developed in Great Britain in earlier years. But in the ten years between 1827 and 1837 the direct British influence was particularly potent. It operated, roughly speaking, through three channels: the political ideas of the thousands who moved from Britain to British North America in this relatively greatest period of immigration and at a time when Britain was all agog over parliamentary reform and its accompanying changes; the reporting in various ways to new Britain of the reforming activities of old Britain; and the contacts between British Radical leaders and the Radical leaders of British North America.

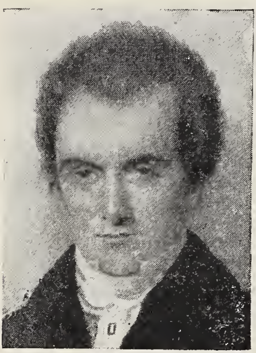
The Reformers in British North America did not adopt the same political programme as the liberals and radicals in Great Britain. The extension of the voting franchise was not a goal of endeavour because the franchise was already democratic in character. But the members of the assemblies elected on that franchise were in the Canadas thwarted by the fact that an oligarchic legislative council could throw out their measures when it pleased and an oligarchic executive council administered the government no matter how elections might go. And in the maritime colonies the situation was similar except that one council did the work of two. Reformers in all parts of the country found in that oligarchy many of the objectionable features of the oligarchic government against which reformers were moving in Great Britain.

There was a general recognition of the fact that the enemy to be subdued, if democracy, liberal measures and self-government were to be achieved, was in each case a local oligarchy—the Family Compact in Upper Canada, the Chateau Clique in Lower Canada, and similar oligarchies in the Maritimes. The British government was generous in its attitude in this period and became more liberal in its colonial policy as government in Great Britain itself was liberalized. But the local oligarchy usually controlled the governors and had the game of government in their own hands by their domination of both the upper house of the legislature and the executive government. If the upper house were made elective it would be easier for the people's representatives to get their way. So an elective upper house became the principal policy of the reformers both in the Canadas and in the maritime colonies.

The influence of the French Revolution was operative more particularly in Lower Canada and was negative as well as positive in character. The French-Canadian clergy were naturally antagonized by the treatment of the Catholic Church by the revolutionary leaders and were unsympathetic to liberal forces emanating from that quarter. Papineau, the outstanding French-Canadian political leader, and many of his political associates were inspired in part by the democratic philosophy of Rousseau and his revolutionary disciples. Both the clergy and Papineau were intensely interested in the welfare of the French-Canadian agricultural population and were antagonistic to both the English-speaking mercantile element and to the local oligarchy, the Chateau Clique, controlled by the English-speaking minority. But when in the early 1830's unrest and tension in Lower Canada became more acute and Papineau and his lieutenants became more radical, the clergy moved away from him. The Church also feared an extreme French-Canadian nationalism. The generous treatment accorded the Church by the British government and the fear of Americanism made the clergy apprehensive of any suggestion of an independent French-Canada. They realized that if the British connection were cut, no Canadian nation could remain for any length of time really independent of the United States even if it could remain nominally independent. These as well as their fundamental loyalty to Great Britain and their attachment to law and order were factors in their opposition to the Rebellion of 1837 when it came.

In Upper Canada a struggle had developed against the Family Compact chiefly in regard to their control of Clergy Reserves, land grants and education. As the tension increased with the failure of the Reformers to secure redress of their grievances, cleavage developed between the moderate Reformers like Bidwell and Baldwin, and the radicals led by William Lyon Mackenzie.

By the 1830's, as we have noted, the Reformers were advocating an elective upper house. The British government refused to make the legislative council elective. In Lower Canada the assembly retaliated by refusing supplies. The British parliament then passed the Russell Resolutions which provided an arbitrary means of financing the government without the supplies. This act precipitated a rebellion in Lower Canada which was quickly followed by one in Upper Canada. The rebellions were small affairs. With their leadership only the extreme radicals were associated and only a small minority responded. The great majority of the people insisted that reform must come by lawful methods. But the rebellions forced upon the attention of the British people the discontent in the Canadas and brought Lord Durham to Canada to investigate and report.



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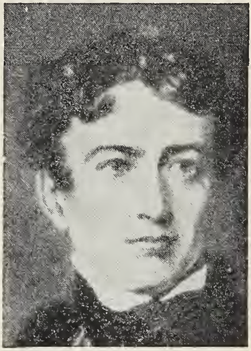
ROBERT BALDWIN
Father of Responsible Government

The principal recommendation of Lord Durham's Report was what we call responsible government—that henceforth governors should accept and maintain as their official advisers only those who were supported by a majority in the legislative assembly, that is a majority of the representatives elected by the people. That meant the transference to British America of what was the main feature of cabinet government in Great Britain. Since Lord Durham's Report, that is the kernel at least of what we mean by responsible government. Although responsible government as recommended in Lord Durham's Report was not advocated in any prominent fashion in the pre-rebellion period, Robert Baldwin had suggested it and deserves to be called, in that sense, "the father of responsible government." He wrote an important letter to Lord Durham embodying his views. The subject was more fully developed, however, in Lord Durham's Report with incisive and compelling logic and much clearer appreciation of its broader aspects. It might be expected that Durham, who was the principal author of the Reform Bill of 1832, would be interested in the means of making Canadian government fully democratic for the first time. But he was quite as much interested in making Canada *self*-governing. He believed in trusting the Canadian people with their own government, and also that it should be related to the other thing desirable, the British connection and the unity of the Empire. Durham drew a line between matters of Canadian concern in which responsible government was to operate fully, and certain matters—he specified four—which would remain matters of imperial concern and would not be determined by Canadian ministers responsible to a majority in parliament. Durham's precise line of division was never followed, but the drawing of the line did much to solve the problem at that time.

Lord Durham presented his Report to the British government in January 1839. Enthusiastic meetings were held in British North America and the legislative assemblies were given a clear mandate from the people to press for responsible government according to Lord Durham's Report. Joseph Howe, the leader of the Reformers in Nova Scotia, in his letters to the British Colonial Secretary did much to support the Durham Report and to clarify the situation.



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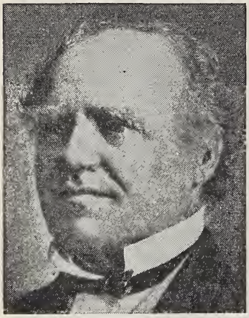
LORD DURHAM

Without the Great Reform Bill of 1832 and the new electorate which it brought in, British political opinion and consequently British government action would not have been so receptive to Lord Durham's Report. In the Act of Union, passed by the British parliament in 1840, Durham's proposal for the legislative union of the two Canadas was put into effect, but full responsible government was not yet granted. It required the following eight years to work out the complete system of cabinet government under successive governors. Their hands were forced by the insistence of the Reform party led by Baldwin and Lafontaine. The new system was completely set up in the Canadas in the 1840's by Lord Elgin, who was Lord Durham's son-in-law, and by other governors in the Maritimes, acting under instructions from the British Colonial Secretary, Lord Grey, who was Durham's brother-in-law.

By 1850 in British North America the principle of full responsible government had been established, steps toward self-government had been taken, the unity of the Empire had been preserved, and the proposal for a wider union had been made. In this solution of their common problems the mother country and the colonies had laid the cornerstone of the later British Commonwealth of Nations. It provided the basic ideas for the most effective permanent partnership of nation-states that the world has ever seen, combining in a unique manner national freedom and full co-operation. Democracy had been achieved, and the way prepared for nationhood, and something further that was undreamed of by liberals or nationalists anywhere else.



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HOWE

SUGGESTIONS

1. Arrange dates in this chapter under the headings "South America", "United States", "British North America".

2. Discuss the strength and the weaknesses of Jacksonian democracy. Relate your discussion to present day politics.

PART II

MODERN HISTORY SINCE 1850

CHAPTER XIX

THE MATERIAL WORLD BECOMES BETTER KNOWN (SINCE 1850)

Man Sharpens and Widens His Vision. Man's ability to observe nature and to make accurate records of his observations increased remarkably in the later nineteenth century. He found himself new eyes by developing much more powerful microscopes and telescopes. With the new microscopes all kinds of substances and organisms could be studied in a detail that had not been imagined before, and with the new telescopes the boundaries of known space were enlarged many times.

Photography Helps Man Observe and Record His World. Another optical instrument that has brought us closer to the world we live in is the photographic camera. Prior to its invention men had to depend on their skill in drawing and painting for permanent records of things as they are seen. These methods were limited, too, by the time and labour involved. The difficulty was lessened to some extent when it was found that a scene could be focussed through a lens on a shaded screen where it could be traced by hand. The device for that purpose was called a camera obscura. The photographic camera resulted when the sensitiveness of certain silver salts to light was utilized to obtain a permanent record of the light-image cast by the lens.

Photography soon became an invaluable aid to scientific observation. Not only did it provide an accurate record of the visible world, but now it was possible to record on a photographic plate objects otherwise invisible. For example, some stars are so far distant that their light is too faint to be detected by the human eye even through the most powerful telescope. A method was devised of mounting a telescope with a clock-work attachment that would keep it pointed at the same part of the stellar universe despite the earth's rotation. By exposing a photographic plate for many hours through a telescope mounted in this way, a photographic image of these faint, distant stars could be secured for study. A large proportion of the new discoveries in astronomy were not made as formerly by looking directly through a telescope but by studying photographs of the sky.

The accuracy of photography and the invention of methods of reproducing its results on printing presses were to bring the whole world under the eye of the common man. The invention of moving pictures, and in the twentieth century their universal use, together with the invention of colour photography and cheap methods of printing in colour, were to carry this process even further. Today, thanks to photography, the world is brought within our view, and distant lands and strange peoples become real to our mind's eye.

The Microbe Hunters. Within the last hundred years several discoveries have transformed the practice both of medicine and of surgery, with the result that many diseases once common have become rare and the average span of life has been prolonged. In medicine perhaps the most far-reaching change in its theory and practice resulted from the discovery that fermentation is produced by bacteria and that many diseases are caused by the presence of these tiny organisms in the body. Bacteria had already been noticed under the earlier microscopes, but till after the middle of the nineteenth century their nature and importance remained unknown. The science of bacteriology grew out of their study both under high-powered microscopes and in other ways. Many investigators, of whom the most famous was the Frenchman, Louis Pasteur (1822-1895), contributed to its growth. The "microbe-hunters" tracked down the particular microbes whose presence in the body produced some of the most serious diseases common to mankind. Vaccination as a preventive of small-pox had been discovered in the eighteenth century by an English physician, Edward Jenner (1749-1823). A German physician, Robert Koch (1843-1910), now proved that the effects of many microbes could be forestalled or minimized by the use of inoculation, introducing into the body bacterial preparations which would develop its powers of resistance to the microbe and thus prevent or cure the disease.

Anaesthetics and Antiseptics. In surgery two discoveries ushered in a new age. The first, of anaesthetics, made it possible to put a patient into unconsciousness during an operation. Ether was first employed for the purpose in the United States and chloroform in Scotland in the 1840's. Their use spread rapidly. The most obvious advantages were the elimination of consciousness of pain during an operation, and the possibility of performing many operations which could not have been attempted without an anaesthetic. Surgery could deal now with internal disorders which in earlier times carried off their victims.

The discovery of antiseptics was no less important. It was in 1867 that Joseph Lister, professor of surgery at Glasgow, having observed that bacteria were present in infected wounds, announced that if the bacteria were killed the wounds became clean. He used a solution of carbolic acid for this purpose and before long other substances such as bichloride of mercury were also found useful.

The antiseptics first used, however, not only killed the bacteria but also damaged the tissues of the body. After some twenty years an alternative method of preventing infection in operations came to be preferred to the use of antiseptics. This new method was that of asepsis. By it bacteria were prevented from getting into the wound by great care in sterilizing all instruments and bandages and by the surgeon and his assistants wearing sterilized rubber gloves, and masks to prevent even their breath from carrying bacteria into the wound.

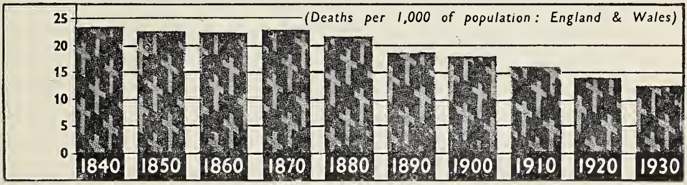
Meanwhile, the search continued for substances which could be used to destroy harmful bacteria in wounds without inflicting any damage to the tissues of the body. It was not for many years that success came with the discovery in the 1930's of sulfanilamide and related compounds which proved effective for many purposes and, a little later, penicillin.

Preventing Disease. While great progress was being made in the methods of curing bodily ills by medicine and surgery, search was continuing for the still more important purpose of preventing disease. Knowledge of the important part played by bacteria in producing disease opened the way to prevention by sanitary methods. The importance of a pure water supply became evident when it was discovered that such diseases as typhoid fever might come from the use of contaminated water. Boiling the water from contaminated sources was found effective. Still more effective were methods of preventing contamination of the water supply by sanitary disposal of sewage, and of sterilizing the water supply itself on a large scale, commonly by chlorination.

It was discovered too that some bacteria were carried by insects or by other animals. Yellow fever and malaria were found to be carried by certain varieties of mosquitoes, bubonic plague by the rat-flea, typhus by lice, sleeping-sickness by the tse-tse fly. A French attempt to build a canal across the Isthmus of Panama towards the end of the nineteenth century encountered difficulties from the fevers that attacked the workmen in the tropical jungle. The canal was built by the United States Government early in the present century with a very low disease and death rate among the workers because advance in knowledge in the meantime had made it possible to eliminate fever, largely by sanitary measures that removed the causes of infection.

Knowledge of the methods by which diseases spread meant appreciation of the importance of clean handling and preparation of foods in public eating places and in homes. This spread slowly, however, among the general population. Public opinion in many places for a long time stubbornly opposed measures such as the compulsory pasteurization of milk to destroy the bacteria which grow in it very easily.

Tuberculosis. In dealing with tuberculosis, which is especially contagious because of the virulence of its microbe, the tubercle bacillus, and its presence in the sick person's sputum, the separation of the sick from the well by the establishment of sanatoria was widely adopted by the beginning of the present century. Under conditions of complete rest, recovery from this disease became frequent in contrast with the very high death rate among its victims in the past. The new methods of treating it also helped to check the spread of the disease.



Brown & Redmayne: Changing Britain (University of London Press)

THE ENGLISH DEATH RATE 1840-1930

The declining death rate reflects progress in the fight against disease.

Hospitals. Hospitals for the care of the sick are an old institution. The progress in medicine and surgery which we have been tracing here brought an increase in their number and an improvement in their services. They have been equipped with modern laboratories and apparatus, and hospital nursing has become a trained profession. Medical schools, associated with hospitals in most cases, have raised the standard of medical education at the same time that they have aided the work of the hospitals. Progress in all these matters has thus been notable and continuous.

The Health of Armies. With the advances in medicine and surgery and sanitary knowledge there has come also a great change in the health of armies in the field and in the care of their sick and wounded. The Crimean War in the 1850's saw the first attempt to introduce competent nursing into military hospitals when Florence Nightingale organized a nursing service of women in connection with the British Army in the Crimea. The Geneva Convention of 1864 was an international agreement for the treatment of the wounded. The International Red Cross, established at the same time, looked to a larger rôle for medical and hospital service connected with armed forces in time of war. Probably the most striking evidence of the remarkable progress in medicine and surgery and sanitary science by virtue of the changes we have described is furnished by the contrast between conditions in even the most advanced armies of a century ago and those of today. Even as late as the Boer War (1899-1902) there were as many deaths from typhoid fever in the British Army as from all other causes. Since then disease has been brought under better control. In the Second World War transfusions of blood plasma saved the lives of thousands suffering from wounds and shock received in battle or in bombing raids.

Progress in the Natural Sciences. Electricity. In every phase of natural science progress has continued since the great days of Sir Isaac Newton. In the leading countries of the western world men more and more sought knowledge by observing nature and by experimenting under conditions that they could control.

Electrical phenomena long attracted the attention of scientists. Investigation advanced more rapidly towards the middle of the nineteenth century and led in the 1860's to the invention of the dynamo for generating electric current that could be used for light and power. It was the result of experiments and improvements by many men. This and the incandescent bulb, which was invented by the American, Thomas Edison (1847-1931), were among the greatest inventions of the times. The growing knowledge of electricity was important not merely for such practical applications. It was discovered to be closely connected with the problem of the nature of matter. Early in the present century the theory was put forward that the "indivisible" atoms of the chemist really consist of electrical particles or electrons.

Radium. A startling discovery concerning the nature of matter was made when the Polish Madame Curie and her French husband, working in Paris, isolated the element radium in 1898, and discovered that there was after all some shadow of truth in the ancient conception of the transmutation of metals. The alchemists of the Middle Ages had hoped to find "the philosopher's stone" by which they could turn base metals into gold and thus make mankind fabulously wealthy. The discovery of radium and radio-activity proved that not all elements are immutable, for through the process of radioactivity radium does eventually change into lead. Radioactivity proved, too, to have valuable uses in treating disease, especially cancer.

Chemistry. Advances in chemistry also became more rapid as the nineteenth century drew towards its close. Improved methods of chemical analysis led to the discovery of elements unknown before, helping to fill out our knowledge of the systematic relations of the elements. There was much exploration of the nature of organic compounds, the substances found in and produced by living organisms, some of them, such as coal and petroleum, by organisms that lived long ages ago. Their structure proved to be highly complicated, although the constituent elements were few. The organic chemist discovered how to produce many substances whose supply had hitherto been limited because it depended upon plant and animal sources, and many which had never been known before. Coal tar became the source of a great variety of substances with a great variety of qualities. Petroleum also was refined to produce many useful derivatives including oils for lubricating purposes and fuel for heat, light and power. Beginnings were made prior to the Great War of 1914-1918 in the production, from coal and wood and plant materials, of various plastics and of cloth, though the progress in these directions by that time was chiefly important in laying the foundations for large-scale developments in more recent years.

Geology and Biology. Ideas concerning the structure of the earth and the forms of life inhabiting it changed greatly in the nineteenth century. Geologists studied more closely the materials of which the earth's surface is made, and observed the natural conditions that affect them; they were led to the conclusion, put forward most clearly by the Scot, Sir Charles Lyell (1797-1875), that the earth developed to its present form through a long process of change which was mostly very gradual in its operation.

In biology, progress was not limited to the realm of bacteriology which has already been noticed above. The relation of living things to their environment and also to a great variety of other living organisms within the same environment received much study and was becoming better understood. The idea gained ground among biologists, among whom the most famous in this connection was the Englishman, Charles Darwin (1809-1882), that the present infinitely varied forms of life have evolved through many changes in ways that have helped to adapt them to their environments in marvellous fashion. The laws of heredity, by which physical characteristics are inherited from generation to generation, were explored and the new knowledge in these matters was applied in the breeding of new and improved types of animal and plant life.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter in your time chart under "Scientific Discoveries and Inventions" the dates given in the text and the following: The discovery of Chloroform as an anaesthetic in 1847; The incandescent filament lamp, 1878; Eastman's hand camera, 1888.

2. Write brief descriptions of the spectroscope and the X-ray. How has the former added to our knowledge of the stars? Of what importance is the latter in modern medicine?

3. What were the contributions of Benjamin Franklin and Michael Faraday to the study of electricity?

4. Prepare a list to show how electricity has been applied to the many aspects of modern life.

5. Are you going to become a nurse or a doctor? Prepare to tell the class what modern science has contributed to the study of medicine and the treatment and prevention of disease.

6. Are you interested in chemistry? Consider how "chemistry" was put to work for the United Nations during the war. Suggest ways in which we may put chemistry to work in peace.

CHAPTER XX

Progress in Industry, Agriculture, Transportation and Communications (1850-1914)

Science Helps Production. The growth of scientific knowledge greatly influenced methods of manufacturing and agriculture, in ways that increased total production and gave the world new commodities in increasing variety. This growth of production has been most notable since the middle of the nineteenth century. It has raised the standard of living in many lands, changed many habits of daily life, and transformed society in numerous ways. Before considering its effects upon our way of life it will be well to examine more closely how science has helped production.

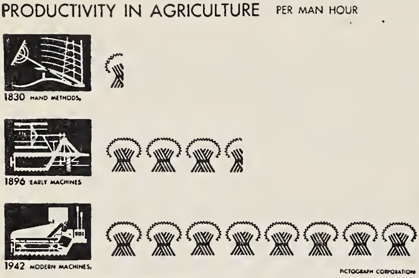
Steel Production and Heavy Industries. New processes for converting iron into steel were invented soon after the middle of the nineteenth century by an Englishman, Henry Bessemer, and a German, William Siemens, who settled in England. The method of the latter was improved by a French steel manufacturer, Pierre Martin. The Bessemer and Siemens-Martin processes produced steel cheaply in large quantities. This facilitated rapid expansion of heavy industries, which made factory machinery, steam engines for many uses, rails for railways, and structural steel for making railway rolling stock, bridges, the hulls of ships, and the frames of buildings.

Mass Production. By the early years of the present century, machine design had developed so far that machines could be made to produce almost anything automatically when it was worth while to do so. Many commodities of a complicated sort could still be made more cheaply and satisfactorily by the use of expert hand labour, but objects for which demand was large were more and more turned out by methods of mass production in which machinery played the chief part. Varied skill was consequently required in a smaller and smaller proportion of workers, while the research scientist and the trained engineer played an increasingly important rôle in providing appropriate machinery and keeping it in good running order.

Sources of Power. Steam power was used more efficiently as a result of improvements in the reciprocating engine, and the invention of the turbine engine in the 1880's by Sir Charles Parsons. The latter soon proved specially convenient for generating electricity, for which purpose water turbine engines also came into use. In regions possessing ample natural sources of water-power, such as Ontario, the combination of water-turbines and dynamos gave a new type of power (hydro-electric power) capable, like electric power generated by steam engines, of ready distribution over wide areas.

The internal combustion engine was coming into use at the end of the nineteenth century. It employed the explosive force generated by the combustion of vaporized liquid fuel within the motor, either of diesel type, using heavy oil, or gasoline type, using light fuel. In the former type, invented by a German, Rudolf Diesel, the explosion of the mixture of vapour and air in the cylinder is produced by the heat generated by extreme compression. In the latter, invented by another German, Gottlieb Daimler, an electric spark ignites the explosive mixture. The compactness of these motors, and the ease with which their liquid fuel can be handled, led to their early use in automobiles, trucks, tractors and as portable engines.

Changes in Agriculture. Developments in manufacturing influenced agricultural methods. The steel plough was a factory product and it made possible the easy breaking of the heavy sod of the North American prairies and the Russian steppes. Machinery for seeding, for spreading manure, for mowing hay, for reaping grain came into general use on the farms in many countries, and most of all in newly-settled regions where men were few and land was plentiful. The culmination of machinery for harvesting was the combine, drawn at first by many horses and later by tractors, which cut the grain and threshed it ready for market as the machine moved through the grain field. The use of the combine on the new lands of our own West during the Great War of 1914-1918, made it possible to increase cereal production despite a man-power shortage.



From Hacker Modley Taylor, THE UNITED STATES A GRAPHIC HISTORY, Modern Age Books, Inc.

Each symbol represents 40 lbs. of wheat produced.

Improvement in agricultural production owes much to the work of scientists. Grains and other crops were improved in quality by careful breeding and selection and new varieties were produced which would grow in areas where such crops could not be grown before. Large areas of the Canadian West, for example, became available for wheat-growing only as varieties of wheat were developed that were rust-resistant and ripened quickly enough to escape frost. In Siberia the story was similar. Much progress was made by the use of fertilizers in addition to the manure of farm animals. Guano from the arid region of northern Chile, where bird droppings had accumulated for centuries, was valuable. It was supplemented and gradually in part replaced by artificial fertilizers.

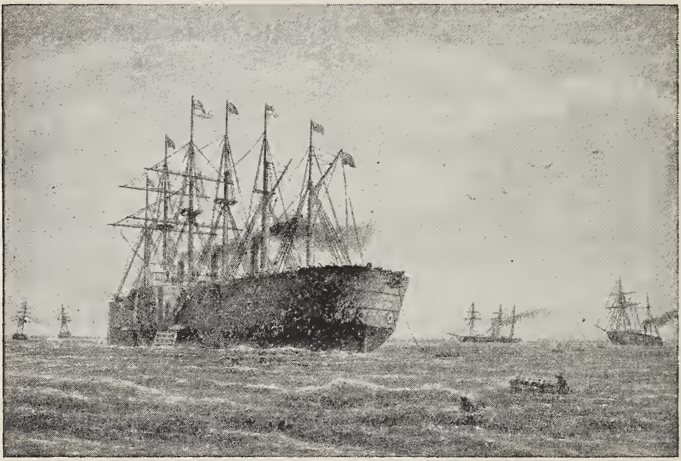
Increasing knowledge of the chemistry of plant growth put the use of fertilizers on a scientific basis. Breeds of live-stock, also, were improved, and animal feeding was done more scientifically than in the past.

In earlier times scientific study of such matters had sometimes been encouraged by the state, for example in the horticultural gardens at Kew established by George III, but most progress had been the result of private initiative. Now many Governments established experimental farms for the study of agricultural and horticultural methods and the improvement of breeds of live-stock and varieties of crops. Among private students of such matters perhaps the most famous was Luther Burbank (1849-1926) of California who developed important new vegetables and fruits by his successful experiments in cross-fertilization.

The Growing Importance of Scientists in Industry and Agriculture. Both in agriculture and in industry the work of the trained scientist was growing more important and its importance was becoming better appreciated. Germany was the first country to wake to the need of having many technical colleges to turn out a large number of trained research scientists and engineers for work in agriculture, forestry, mining, manufacturing, etc. By the beginning of the twentieth century England, the United States, and some other countries were also becoming aware of the need and enlarging their educational systems to meet it.

Improvements in Transportation and Communication. Science and invention improved the existing means of transportation and communication and devised new ones. Growing production of goods to be transported and the desire of more and more people to travel widely for business or pleasure or to migrate to new lands invited such developments, which in turn made trade and travel possible on a scale unheard of in earlier times.

Steamships. When iron and later steel were used for shipbuilding instead of wood, it became possible to build larger vessels with ample space for cargo as well as for fuel. The chief invention in making steamships more manageable was the screw propeller. Twin screws and by and by triple screws still further increased manageability and efficiency in use of power. Vibration of the ship caused by reciprocating engines was greatly reduced by the substitution of turbine engines in many vessels early in the twentieth century. Up to the Great War of 1914, coal continued to be the principal fuel, though by that time oil was beginning to be used as fuel for



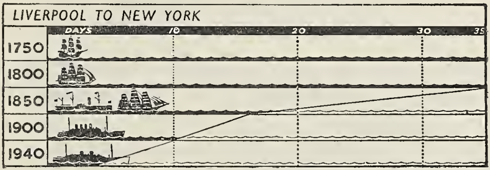
THE GREAT EASTERN

An experiment in building an iron steamship very much larger than previous vessels was the *Great Eastern*, 680 feet long, built in the 'fifties. It was half a century before its time. Its engines lacked power adequate for so large a ship and its excessive coal consumption except at very low speed required too much space to be used for fuel. It served a special use in laying the Atlantic cable in 1865 and 1866, when its large size was convenient for storing the coiled submarine cable, but it was not satisfactory for ordinary purposes.

steamships, and motorships were coming into use equipped with diesel engines.

Tramps and Liners. Wide use of steamships depended upon the establishment of coaling stations along the sea routes so that ships could avoid having to use too much space for fuel. A large part of the ocean steamship traffic was carried by tramp steamers which moved from port to port as they found available cargoes, but more conspicuous were the steamship lines whose vessels plied on schedule between stated terminal ports. The first regular transatlantic steamship service was established just before the middle of the century by Samuel Cunard of Halifax, Nova Scotia. The Allan Line gave service by way of the St. Lawrence and pioneered the use for ocean vessels of such improvements as twin screws and turbine engines.

Steamships and Emigration. Changes in Cargoes. The liners, or ocean greyhounds as they were popularly called, were one cause of the enormous increase of emigration from Europe to the Americas and to Australasia. They not only made the voyage in less time and with less discomfort than the earlier emigrant ships but their fares could be very moderate in view of the large number of passengers they could carry.



Brown & Redmayne: Changing Britain
(University of London Press)

Bulky goods of small value in proportion to their bulk could now be carried long distances cheaply enough to make their carriage worth while, and new lands could, therefore, find in the old world a market for the bulky products of farm and forest by which the newly arrived population could earn a living.

The invention of methods of refrigeration further increased the possibilities of transport by steamship. Fresh fruit could be shipped thousands of miles, even from the Tropics, while fresh mutton found its way to English tables from the sheep ranges of Australia and New Zealand and fresh beef from the pampas of South America.

Brown & Redmayne: Changing Britain (University of London Press)

THE FORTH BRIDGE—OPENED IN 1890

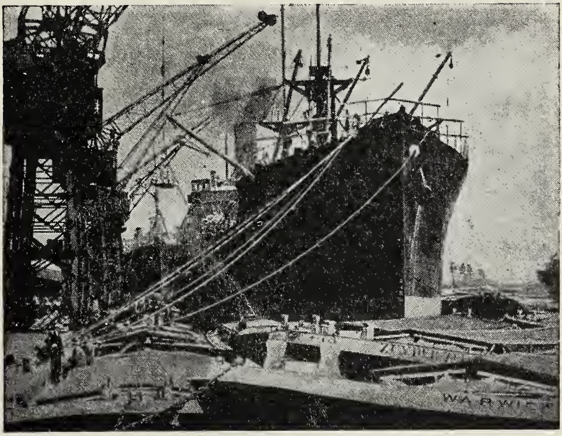
Steel and steam in land transportation.

Canals. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 greatly shortened the sea-route between Europe and the East. The Panama Canal, opened in 1914, was chiefly valuable as a short-cut between the coasts of the North and Central Atlantic and the Pacific coasts of North and South America.

Among inland waterways the St. Lawrence and Great

Lakes system had the largest traffic, chiefly in grain from the prairies of the west, and in ore and coal. Canals and locks were enlarged to accommodate it, and vessels were designed accordingly with maximum cargo space for their dimensions.

Railways. By the middle of the century railway building had well passed the experimental stage in Great Britain and neighbouring European countries and in the eastern United States. The next quarter of a century saw railways extended rapidly in much of Europe, in the United States, where the first transcontinental line was finished in 1869, in Canada and India, and in lesser measure in South America, South Africa, and Australia. The last quarter of the century and the early years of the twentieth century saw networks of branch lines fitted into the picture, as well as additional transcontinental lines in North America, and completion of the main line of



Brown & Redmayne: Changing Britain (University of London Press)
A STEAMSHIP LOADING FREIGHT
Steel and steam in ocean transportation.

the Trans-Siberian Railway from European Russia across the whole of northern Asia.

The invention of sleeping cars introduced new comfort into railway journeys extending overnight. Railway travel became independent of weather, and even in climates with snowy winters there were seldom serious delays such as had been the rule when travel was by stage coach. Instead of seeming a perilous venture as in the old days, travel became so safe, despite its greater speed, that insurance companies estimated that people were less liable to accident when travelling by rail than when walking the streets of their own cities.

Bulk freight could be carried long distances cheaply by rail, and perishable goods borne quickly and in good condition to distant markets. Railways made possible the settlement of great inland regions where without them access to the outer world for their products would have remained too expensive and difficult. The Middle West of the United States, the Canadian Prairies, parts of South America and much of Siberia were lands of this sort.

Urban and Inter-Urban Transportation. New means of transportation also made possible the further expansion of cities and the growth of large urban areas. We have seen that the factory system tended to produce congested areas. Cheap and rapid transportation made it possible for many people to live at greater distances from their daily work and from the shopping and business centres. Electric railways running on city streets brought to the whole urban population for a few cents a ride transportation that was faster, if not always more comfortable, than the most privileged members of society had hitherto enjoyed.

In some of the greatest cities such as London and New York underground railways were built. This was begun in London even before railways could be run by electricity, but when the latter possibility was realized electric trains replaced steam trains in the London Underground. Little did Londoners realize when they began to travel through their "tubes" tunneled deep through the blue clay that in 1940 the "Underground" was to provide ready-made air-raid shelters that would save the lives of many thousands. New York's "subways" are of different type, for since solid rock lies close to the surface beneath most of that city they were excavated directly under the streets, whose pavements form their roof. In New York also, and some other American cities, elevated railways supplemented the subways as means of diverting traffic from the street level.

Electric railways were soon used to connect cities with their suburbs and with neighbouring cities, providing more frequent service than was often possible on the steam railways and faster than was possible by horse-drawn vehicles on the roads.

Highway Transportation. Bicycles and Automobiles. The period with which we are dealing, prior to the Great War of 1914-1918, saw also the earlier stages of the revolution in road transport that has been brought about by the automobile. Many inventions and improvements were involved in this revolution. In fact it provides a striking illustration of the way in which one invention leads to another and of how the full usefulness of a new device often depends upon a variety of related developments, the work of many men in many lands.

By the later years of the century bicycles came into wide use and for them were invented rubber tires at first solid and later pneumatic. Rubber was the answer to the problem of easy riding for motor vehicles, without which rapid mechanical transport by road would have remained impracticable. The internal combustion motor provided a means of power much more easily handled under road conditions than the steam engine and using fuel that took little space and was easy to load and carry. New alloy steels provided material of so much greater strength than ordinary steel that motors and bodies could be built stronger and at the same time much lighter than was previously possible.

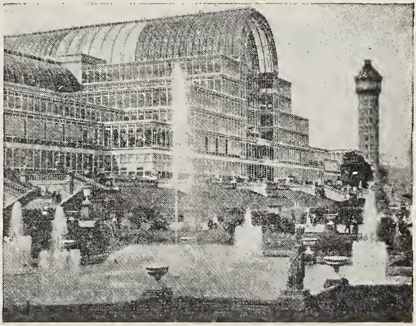
Lights for night driving had to be proof against vibration and much brighter than old oil coach-lamps. Acetylene gas was the first answer to this need but it involved troublesome recharging with carbide and the generators were liable to freeze in cold weather. Electric lights became available for use in motor cars only after improvements in filaments, in generators and in batteries.

The wide use of automobiles was also dependent upon improvement of roads. High-speed traffic soon destroyed the surface of roads that had stood up well under horse-drawn vehicles. Only when satisfactory methods of paving roads were developed and good roads were built through the countryside did the age of the automobile really arrive.

Aircraft. The period between the opening of the new century and the war of 1914 saw the beginning of power-flight. Balloon ascensions had become a familiar tale. The gasoline motor was now applied to balloon-craft by inventors such as the Brazilian, Santos-Dumont, and the German, Count Zeppelin. A number of inventors had worked on the problem of flight in craft heavier than air, but two Americans, the Wright brothers, were first to solve the problem. They had the wisdom to begin by designing a glider and learning to control it in short gliding flights before installing a motor. In 1903 they made their first flight under power. Six years later a Frenchman, Bleriot, flew the English channel in an aeroplane of different design. Aircraft were still in the experimental stage when war came, but they were soon in use by the forces of both sides for scouting, fighting and bombing on a small scale.

Telegraph, Cable, Telephone, Wireless Telegraphy. A new age had dawned in communications as it had in transportation by the middle of the nineteenth century, but the years that followed saw wide application of the new methods and further startling innovations. The land telegraph led naturally enough to the submarine telegraph after the problem was solved of insulating the metal wire from the sea water. In 1851 a cable was laid under the English Channel and only fifteen years later the Atlantic cable between England and North America was in operation. In due course cables were laid connecting all the continents.

More spectacular was the telephone, invented by Alexander Graham Bell (1847-1922), which brought men at a distance within sound of one another's voices. Bell was a Scotsman who came to Canada in 1870—when his father became a professor at Queen's University—and who divided his later life between Canada and the United States. Some of his early work on transmitting sound was done in Boston, but it was in Brantford, Ontario, that he announced his invention in 1876 after succeeding in sending the sound of the human voice for the first time a considerable distance, actually from Brantford to the nearby town of Paris. Commercial use of the telephone spread rapidly, and "long distance" lines were in operation early in



Press Association from Wheeler

THE CRYSTAL PALACE IN LONDON
Built for the International Exhibition of 1851

the present century, though inter-continental telephones came only after the Great War of 1914-18.

An Italian, Guglielmo Marconi (1874-1937), following up discoveries in electricity by British and German scientists, invented a method of wireless telegraphy. He sent by it a message in Morse across the English Channel as early as 1898 and across the Atlantic to Newfoundland in 1901.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter in your time chart under "Scientific Discoveries and Inventions" and under "Economic and Social Changes" the dates given in the text and the following: McCormick's reaper, 1851; Bessemer's steel process, 1856; Siemens-Martin steel process, 1864; Completion of the Union Pacific Railway, 1869; Daimler's high speed gasoline engine, 1883; Completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, 1885; Diesel engine patented, 1892; Completion of the Trans-Siberian Railway, 1905.

2. What were the processes of steel production invented by Bessemer and Siemens?

3. In what ways has the invention of the gasoline motor affected your community: by saving labour, increasing conveniences, providing motive power?

4. Using the telephone or the radio as an example show that in its invention and improvement many men have had a share.

5. In what ways did improvements in transportation contribute to the industrialization of the great powers of Europe and America?

6. How have improvements in transportation affected agriculture throughout the world?

CHAPTER XXI

SOME SOCIAL EFFECTS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION (1850-1914)

Living Conditions Change. Buildings of the New Age. In "modern" countries where such changes as we have been describing were most conspicuous they altered the conditions of everyday life for most of the people, and almost everywhere in the world the life of the people was affected in some degree.

New types of building were developed not only to house factory machinery and provide railway stations but for other purposes as well. New materials and changes in methods of construction led to new designs. An early and striking example was the Crystal Palace built at London to house the International Exhibition of 1851, (which was the first of a great series of such displays of the products of industry from many lands.) The frame of the vast building was constructed of iron posts, beams and girders, and the spaces between these instead of being mainly walled in with brick or stone were mostly of glass. The Brooklyn Bridge, 1869-1883, and the Eiffel Tower at the Paris Exposition of 1889 were engineering achievements that caught the imagination of all who saw or heard of them.

"Sky-scrapers". For everyday purposes the steel frame found its greatest opportunity for development in New York City. There the crowded conditions of a great metropolis situated on a narrow island encouraged builders to secure additional space for human use by thrusting their buildings further and further into the air till they were aptly called sky-scrapers.

As an engineering achievement the sky-scraper was a new type of building. At first the design of its exterior remained traditional and the skin, of brick or stone and windows, that filled in the spaces and covered the structural steel was designed in imitation of older architectural styles. Gradually, however, a new style was achieved that emphasized the sky-reaching and web-like character of the construction. Concrete reinforced by steel rods came to be used with steel frame construction, and sometimes without the latter, not only in large buildings for ordinary uses but also in such specialized structures as grain elevators and bridges.

Very tall buildings for any purpose would have been impracticable except for the invention of high speed electric elevators, and the interior parts of many such buildings would have been quite useless without electric lights and elaborate systems of ventilation, as well as central heating. Thus again we see how inventions of many kinds supplemented one another in making possible such a product of the new age as the sky-scraper.

Once this new type of building had been developed in New York, it was imitated in many cities, though in few was there such pressure for space as to invite competition with the height of the New York sky-line. In cities of the old world, indeed, and in some of the new, legal limits were placed on the height of buildings, in order to prevent their shutting out too much light and creating over-congestion of traffic in the adjacent streets.

Houses. Domestic architecture saw little change in basic methods of construction and was largely imitative of earlier styles in its design, but there was great advance in the comfort of houses of the better class in town and city. Better lighting, as coal oil and gas gave way to electricity, and central heating and improved plumbing, contributed to increased comfort and healthfulness in these houses.

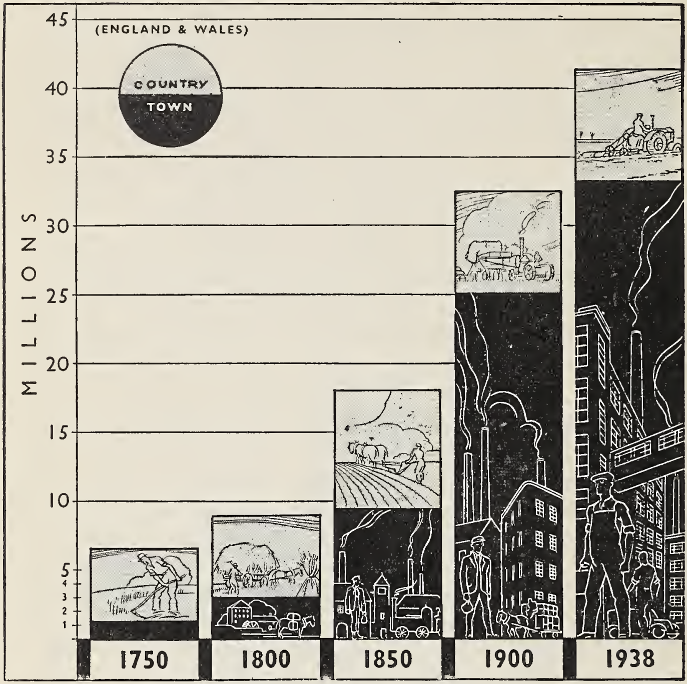
Labour-Saving Devices. Such labour-saving devices as cash registers and typewriters found their way into shop and office.

The most important labour-saving device of the era in the home was the sewing machine, which had been invented in France in 1829 but was greatly improved by a number of inventions, that were made, chiefly in America, about the middle of the century. Before long, sewing machines were in wide use in all but the most backward parts of the globe. By the end of the century the phonograph was becoming a common article of furniture and source of entertainment, though its adaptation to use as an office convenience in the form of the dictograph did not come till later.

Clothing. Clothing in western lands in the latter half of the nineteenth century had not acquired the comfort or simplicity of the present day. Clothes, like the upholstery of furniture, were heavy, stiff and cumbersome and generally dark and over-elaborate. Perhaps this was partly to combat the dirt of the towns with their smoky air and still dusty streets. Also there was nothing like the variety of inexpensive and colourful fabrics that new processes of manufacture and the new aniline dyes from coal-tar later made possible. Men encased themselves in white shirts with stiff starched bosoms and high stiff starched collars and wore hard hats covered with black silk nap or made of stiffened black felt. Women wore stiff stays reinforced with whale-bone and steel, and the manufacture of the heavy braid to be sewn around the bottoms of long skirts to prevent their wearing out too quickly as they trailed on the ground and floor was a profitable industry. Footwear was usually high enough to cover the ankles as a reasonable protection against the dirt and the dust of streets where traffic was still largely horse-drawn. Under their clothing men and women wore heavy underwear which today, except for persons working long hours out of doors in winter, would be considered oppressive.

In the early years of the new century city folk who set the fashions were adopting a more active way of life.

Bicycling was popular with both sexes, and lawn tennis and golf were attracting many disciples. These changing habits



Brown & Redmayne: Changing Britain (University of London Press)

HOW THE POPULATION GREW IN ENGLAND AND WALES 1750-1938
This chart of the growth of population in England and Wales emphasizes both the total increase from time to time and the growing urbanization of the population as the industrial revolution advanced. Notice that the rate of increase was highest in the nineteenth century and the greatest increase in any period shown was in the half-century after 1850. Compare the chart of the English Death Rate 1840-1930 on page 271.

affected fashions. Stiff corsets and the "hard-boiled" shirt and hard hats began to lose popularity. The general use of motor cars in the years that were to follow, along with the cleaner streets that the changes in traffic made possible, encouraged the use of lighter footwear and lighter weight and softer clothing. A growing knowledge of hygiene banned skirts that swept the ground.

Problems of Industrialization. Urbanization. Wherever industrialization spread it made human labour more productive and for many people greatly increased the comforts and conveniences of daily life, but we have seen also how from its beginnings it created serious problems for many individual workers and for communities. Overcrowded living conditions and unhealthful and dangerous conditions in factories were still a scandal in many centres of industry.

The expansion of towns and cities was largely unplanned, and not until the last quarter of the nineteenth century were organized attempts made to cope with the unfortunate results. Such attempts were left largely to the municipalities. In Britain the Artisans' Dwellings Act of 1875 gave the local authorities the right to purchase and destroy slum sections, while the Public Health Act of the same year laid down regulations for sewage disposal, water supply and the control of infectious diseases, and made it compulsory for every district to appoint a medical health officer.

Birmingham was famous among British cities as a pioneer in improvements. Joseph Chamberlain, its mayor, in 1876 could say—"I may sing my *Nunc dimittis*. The Town will be parked, paved, assized, marketed, Gas-and-Watered and improved—all as the result of three years' active work." Most cities, however, were slow to follow this example and not until the twentieth century were adequate plans made for improving housing conditions for the workers. Better progress was made towards improving working conditions.

Unemployment. Growing industrialization also made employment less certain for larger numbers of workers. The use of labour saving machinery meant the increase of production, greater prosperity for the community as a whole, and the employment of many more persons in industry, but nevertheless the unemployment that the changes temporarily caused, known as technological unemployment, often brought serious hardship to some workers.

Employment became less certain also for other reasons. The large scale organization of modern industry and commerce increased the seriousness of what is known as the business cycle, which is the alternation of periods of boom with periods of depression. In good times an increasing demand for goods meant expansion of industry and business to meet the enlarging demand. This went on till production got ahead of demand and manufacturers and business men found themselves with surplus stocks of goods. Manufacture then had to be slowed down because there were no longer sufficient sales to keep it going at the expanded rate. Under such conditions of depression, large numbers of workers became unemployed without prospect of finding new jobs in the near future.

Sickness and accidents also caused difficulties for workers. Loss of wages by the consequent unemployment made it difficult to meet ordinary living expenses and still harder to pay for the treatment needed for prompt and full recovery. Sometimes the worker's ability to earn a living at his old job or even in any way at all was seriously impaired or destroyed.

Regulation of Working Conditions. Social Security Measures. Britain was the pioneer in regulation of working conditions. For more than a century her statesmen have had to cope with the social problems created or increased by the Industrial Revolution. We have already seen how the Factory Act of 1833 followed closely upon the reform of Parliament. It was a beginning. Stage by stage regulations were made to cover conditions of work for all workers and an efficient system of inspection was built up for their enforcement. The Factory and Workshop Consolidation Act of 1878, bringing together the legislation up to that time, filled more than fifty printed pages with regulations concerning such matters as sanitation, safety devices, and hours of labour. Provisions of this labour code were rounded out still further in the Factory and Workshop Act of 1901 and by subsequent legislation. In time other countries also learned the wisdom of safeguarding conditions of labour by law.

If social conditions were to be stable and wholesome, the state must see to it that conditions of life as well as of work were improved, and that workers were protected against the disastrous effects of sickness, accident, and unemployment. It was argued also that under the conditions of modern industry many wage-earners could not hope to make adequate provision for their old age and that the state should therefore see to it that they were assured a minimum livelihood when their working days were over.

Various attempts were made to meet these problems. The most comprehensive state action concerning them in the nineteenth century was taken by Germany. In a series of measures adopted in the 1880's Germany limited the labour of women and children and in some industries that of men, and provided a system of safeguards for manual workers against the evil consequences of sickness, accident, unemployment, and old age, by various forms of social insurance. Bismarck hoped by such policies to undermine the growing influence of socialist doctrines in Germany. By the end of the century several European countries had made a start with similar legislation.

Great Britain, as we have seen, had accomplished much in factory legislation in the nineteenth century. Early in the new century she adopted an extensive scheme of social insurance embodied in measures that were enacted between 1906 and 1912. These provided for insurance of workmen at the employers' expense against accidents and some industrial diseases, and for insurance provided by contributions of employers, of workers and of the state, against sickness and unemployment. Minimum wages were to be set in certain occupations. The health of children was guarded and their welfare promoted in various ways, and old-age pensions were provided at the age of seventy. Enactment of such social legislation has continued since that time. In most other countries little progress was made in dealing with these problems before the Great War of 1914.

Into the early years of the twentieth century both the United States and Canada remained "lands of opportunity", not only to European emigrants but to North Americans. New land was still being opened to agricultural settlers, and opportunities for work in industry, railway construction, mining, lumbering, etc. in a rapidly expanding society were so great that there seemed little call for the state to provide social insurance. Most men were more eager for untrammelled freedom of personal activity. There was some regulation of working conditions, but not till after that war did problems of social security become so acute as to receive very much governmental consideration either in the United States or Canada.

Trade Unionism. In every country that became industrialized many workers felt that by organization they could help one another and bring pressure to bear on governments and employers for the improvement of working conditions. Hence they formed trade unions.

Prior to the middle of the nineteenth century trade unions in Britain were mostly local organizations whose members were drawn from workers in the same craft. A new phase of their development began with the organization in 1851 of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers on a national craft basis, with a permanent trained personnel and with emphasis on conciliation, arbitration, and workers' benefits. Similar unions were formed among other skilled workers. It also became common for various craft unions in a municipality to hold local Trades Union Congresses, and after 1866 a general Trades Union Congress held yearly meetings.

British trade unions have never included all wage earners. Indeed at the period of their highest organization in 1920 about eight and a half million wage earners out of twenty million were members. The majority of the membership came from mining, metal engineering and ship building, the textile industry, the building trades and transport workers. Agricultural workers, white-collar workers and women remained largely outside unions.

British unions more than those of other countries have been mutual benefit associations, using sometimes nearly half their revenues for benefits to cover sickness, accident, superannuation, and funeral expenses, and sometimes more than one-fifth for unemployment relief. Working expenses and the costs of handling disputes have generally been kept at a modest level. In disputes with employers over hours of work or rates of pay, unions were greatly strengthened by the legalization of the strike during the 1870's and of peaceful picketing early in the twentieth century. This meant that strikes could be much more effective measures for persuading employers to grant concessions.

The Trades Union Congress began early to advocate parliamentary action to improve the conditions of labour. It was intimately associated with the rise of the Labour Party which will be described later.

British trade unions have on the whole been characterized by variety of organization, opposition to revolutionary action, and efficiency in promoting the welfare of their members. There has been less tendency to standardization than in many other countries. They have developed a high degree of skill in collective bargaining, not only by strikes, but increasingly by consultation with employers, with whom also they have learned to cooperate in many instances to mutual advantage. The growth of trade unions in Britain, where they first came into existence, has been an important aspect of the development of British democracy.

In other countries trade unions have frequently differed markedly from the British type. In Germany, for example, the unions were largely founded by political parties with which they remained closely associated. They tended, therefore, to be more uniform in their organization, and more controlled by a central authority. Many of them were associated with the Social Democratic Party. In France, on the other hand, they often preferred to advocate revolutionary measures and refused to affiliate with democratic or moderate socialist parties or even support them. The growth of union organization was comparatively slow in France owing to the large proportion among French workers of agricultural labourers and government employees.

In the United States unions were organized at about the same time as in Britain, beginning with local unions in the 1820's and national unions in the 1850's and 1860's. The inclusion of Canadian unions led to the use of the title international instead of national by some of these larger associations, notably various railway workers' unions and the Bricklayers and Masons.

Early attempts in the United States to form a National Labour Union similar to the British Trades Union Congress came to nothing, but in 1881 the Federation of Organized Trade and Labour Unions of the United States and Canada was formed. In 1886 it was merged into the American Federation of Labour. Gradually most of the more important national and "international" trade unions became affiliated with it with the exception of the railway unions.

In the United States as in Britain, however, in the pre-war period only a small proportion of the workers belonged to unions. In 1910 the proportion in the United States was only about ten per cent. of the non-agricultural wage earners. Unionization made most progress in the United States in transportation, the building trades and mining.

In 1886 those Canadian unions that were affiliated with the American Federation of Labour were organized under the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress. Independent Canadian unions were to a great extent affiliated with the All Canadian Congress of Labour, while many unions belonged to the Catholic Union. Here too only a small proportion of the wage-earners in the pre-war years belonged to unions—in 1911 only 133,000 altogether.

Canadian and American unions differed markedly from the British in two respects. They emphasized the use of conciliation or strikes to gain immediate improvements in conditions and spent very little of their money on benefits. They also avoided affiliation with any political party, preferring to promise support to that party which would best carry out their programme. Like the British unions, those in North America varied widely in their organization.

Attempts to unite workers of the world in an international organization were largely unsuccessful. An International Workers' Organization was formed in 1864 by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who had issued some years earlier their famous pamphlet, *The Communist Manifesto*, setting forth a materialistic type of socialist doctrine and arguing that socialism must result from the so-called "class struggle". This "First International" lasted only a few years, and was disbanded because of the failure to harmonize the aims and methods of diverse national groups. A "Second International", organized some years later, lasted until the Great War of 1914. In some countries labour organizations appeared with revolutionary aims. Impatient with constitutional methods, some advocated the general strike in order to paralyze the whole economy and force government to radical change or dissolution. Such an attempt was made unsuccessfully in France in 1910. It was not to be attempted in Britain or in North America till after the War. In the countries which enjoyed genuine democratic government, prevailing public opinion frowned on such revolutionary methods of seeking reform.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter in your time chart under "Scientific Discoveries and Inventions" and under "Economic and Social Changes" the dates given in the text and the following: Communist Manifesto, 1848; Edison's phonograph, 1877; Burrough's recording adding machine, 1888.

2. What have been the most important factors determining the type of domestic architecture in your community?

3. Have you both old and new industrial establishments in your community? Study them in order to compare present-day factory architecture with that of forty or fifty years ago.

4. Compare the percentage distribution of urban and rural populations in Canada in 1850, 1900, 1945.

5. In what ways has Canada undertaken to protect the security of her industrial population and their dependents?

CHAPTER XXII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN BRITAIN SINCE 1850

Britain in 1850. The Great Exhibition held in London in 1851 was a mirror of English life in the mid-nineteenth century. The products of the industrial revolution that were displayed in the Crystal Palace were evidence of Great Britain's leadership in economic progress, while the exhibits from the colonies illustrated the extent and resources of the Second British Empire. Tennyson's "Ode Sung at the Opening of the International Exhibition" was a hymn to the doctrines of the Manchester School with its hopes of international peace based on international free trade. The celebrations were dominated by the figure of Queen Victoria whose husband, the Prince Consort, had conceived the idea of the Exhibition.

Palmerston. Typical of that time, too, was the dynamic personality of Lord Palmerston, who until his death in 1865 remained the outstanding figure in British domestic and foreign politics. By mid-century the era of zealous reform and radical change in internal politics and colonial policy was past. Palmerston's confidence in himself and in his country's present greatness and future destiny reflected the general satisfaction of the ruling classes over the system resulting from the "improvements" of the two previous decades. Yet even he knew that further change lay ahead. "There will be strange doings," he said, "when Gladstone gets my place."

Democracy had won its first great victory in the Reform Act of 1832, but the classes which had forced the issue had received no rewards. Power had been shared by the aristocracy with the middle class property owner or more substantial tenantry but the agricultural labourers and most of the urban workers remained without the vote. After the failure of the Chartist movement, only a few hardy leaders had continued to strive for an extension of the franchise. By the 1860's, however, it was clear to all that the vote must be extended. Only two questions needed settlement: (a) which party should bring in reform and (b) how broad should it be.

LONDON FROM THE VICTORIA TOWER OF THE PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS

The Clock Tower, containing Big Ben, is at the far end of the Parliament Buildings. Beyond Whitehall, where the white Cenotaph is noticeable, stands the dark column of the Nelson Monument in Trafalgar Square. The Thames Embankment is on the right. In the immediate foreground is the roof of Westminster Hall, built in the Middle Ages. Most of the Parliament Buildings were rebuilt in the 1840's following a fire.

Conservatives and Liberals. Disraeli and Gladstone. The Conservatives were gaining new vigour under the influence of Disraeli, and the Liberals were becoming more alert under the influence of Gladstone. These two men, Disraeli and Gladstone, were to dominate British politics from Palmerston's death until their own.

Disraeli was a Jew by birth though a Protestant in religion. A keen observer and a brilliant writer, he was a successful novelist at an early age. He was a picturesque figure, as a young man foppish in his dress—he indulged in flamboyant waistcoats. He was an orator of fiery enthusiasm and persuasive charm, although his maiden speech in the House was a humiliating failure. He believed in the importance of Britain's national prestige. He would have an enlightened aristocracy leading a happy proletariat, and he held a vision of an Empire centring around Britain, closely united by loyalty to the Queen. On such foundations he was to create a strong Conservative party whose primary interest was in foreign and imperial affairs, but which also did much to better the conditions of the working classes.

Gladstone was the son of a wealthy merchant but was linked with the old ruling class by his High Church Anglicanism, his education, and his scholarly interest in the classics—he was the author of a volume about the Greek poet Homer. He began as a Conservative and rose quickly to the Cabinet. As a Peelite he changed his party allegiance. Serious in his manner, convincing rather than persuasive in argument, he was a contrast to the courtly Disraeli. Queen Victoria found more pleasure in conference with the latter as her Prime Minister. Gladstone, she once remarked, sometimes talked to her in private as if she were a public meeting. But he had "a capacity for deep emotion in noble causes." His was the most powerful voice in expressing the liberal aspirations of his countrymen. He became "the people's William" and by and by, to millions of his fellow-citizens, "the Grand Old Man" of British public life.

Both parties held certain fundamental principles in common, such as a recognition of the importance of public opinion, and an acceptance of free trade as the basis of British prosperity. Whether Liberals or Conservatives were in power, political and constitutional change continued in much the same general direction.

Press Association from Wheeler

NO. 10, DOWNING STREET

Downing Street is a short street stretching from Whitehall towards St. James's Park. No. 10, the first house on the right, has been the official residence of the British Prime Minister since the eighteenth century.

The Second Parliamentary Reform Act. By 1867 it was clear to all that political democracy must be extended, and except for a few die-hards the members of both parties were prepared to enlarge the franchise of 1832 by which about one sixth of the adult males had the vote. After Palmerston's death Lord John Russell, who had introduced the Great Reform Bill in the House of Commons a third of a century earlier, had become Prime Minister. Early in 1866 his government introduced a bill to extend the franchise and redistribute the seats. The bill was defeated and his government resigned. Lord Derby formed a ministry in which Disraeli was leader of the House of Commons.

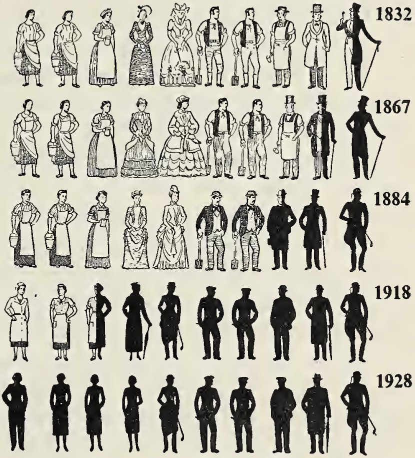
THE CABINET ROOM AT NO. 10, DOWNING STREET
The Prime Minister sits at the centre of the table with his back to the fireplace.

Disraeli had long desired to enfranchise the working-man. He brought in a somewhat similar measure. After a number of liberalizing amendments it passed with Liberal support. It gave the vote to most urban workers and nearly doubled the number of names on the voters' list in England and Wales. (It extended the vote in boroughs to virtually all householders and to lodgers paying a stipulated yearly rent. In counties the property-holding franchise was widened and some tenant farmers received the vote. Many industrial workers and most wage-earners in agriculture, as well as some tenant farmers, were still unenfranchised.) This act also took fifty-two seats from small boroughs and redistributed them. Similar bills enlarged the franchise in a corresponding manner in Scotland and Ireland.

These new voters were to have an important influence on the action of parliamentary members, for with improved transportation and communications and consequently better news services the public was becoming constantly more informed about doings in Parliament, and increasingly able to bring pressure to bear upon its representatives. As a result, political leaders like Disraeli and Gladstone made their appeals more directly to the country. The drama of party politics was never more spectacular than when Gladstone and Disraeli held the stage.

Further Democratizing Measures. During these years the pressure of the opinions of the new voters was consistently felt as further democratic and social reforms were demanded. In 1854 the British Government had passed a Corrupt Practices Act which defined in detail the use of bribery in elections and set down punishments for any who offered or accepted it, as well as for any who tried to influence a voter by the use of force. In 1883 this Act was extended and the punishment increased. Strict enforcement has been the rule. In 1872 the Ballot Act was passed, introducing the secret ballot, which was a further means of preventing undue influence on the voter, and without which genuine democracy was impossible.

The Third Parliamentary Reform Act, 1884, made the county franchise the same as that in the boroughs, thus enfranchising the mass of agricultural labourers and adding two million new voters to the lists. The Act of 1884 was followed by a Redistribution Act which disfranchised many small boroughs, reduced the representation of others, and re-allotted the seats. Membership of the House of Commons was also slightly increased. The Local Government Act of 1888 extended to the counties the system of municipal government established in 1835 for boroughs.



Brown & Redmayne: The Struggle for Democracy (University of London Press)

GROWTH OF THE FRANCHISE IN GREAT BRITAIN

It required two further measures to round out completely in later years this process of democratizing the franchise. In 1918 the Representation of the People Act extended the vote to virtually all men over twenty-one, and to most women over thirty. Certain classes of course remained debarred from voting, namely aliens, criminals, and those mentally unfit. Elections were to be held on the same day throughout the country. In 1928 the Equal Franchise Act placed the franchise for women on the same basis as for men both in parliamentary and local government elections.

Meanwhile the House of Commons was also made more democratic by the abolition of property qualifications for members (1858), the payment of members (1911) and the admission of women (1918).

The Parliament Act of 1911. To complete at this point the story of parliamentary reform as a phase of the growth of political democracy in Britain we must notice a crisis in relations between the House of Commons and the House of Lords. The circumstances under which the First Reform Bill became law had made it clear that final power lay with the House of Commons as the body elected by the nation. Towards the close of the century, however, the House of Lords began to take on a new vigour and after 1905, when a new Liberal administration entered on a programme of radical reforms, it rejected several of them.

In 1909 it refused to pass the budget introduced by Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer. This budget proposed to raise the revenue for new social services (see above, p. 295) by much heavier inheritance and land taxes. The Lords' rejection of the budget was condemned by the Asquith Government as a dangerous precedent. An election was called and the Government won. The budget was re-introduced and passed the Commons and Lords.

The Government then decided to take the important step of limiting the power of the House of Lords by statute. The Parliament Bill was introduced declaring it illegal for the House of Lords to throw out any money bills (in case of doubt the Speaker of the House of Commons decides what bills are to be considered as money bills), or to hold up other bills which have been passed by the Commons in three successive sessions of the same Parliament within two years. If passed thus they were to receive the King's signature and become law notwithstanding their rejection by the Lords. Another election returned the Liberals again to power and, on a threat of creating new peers, the bill passed the Lords in 1911. The Parliament Act confirmed formally the supremacy of the House of Commons. At the same time the length of Parliament was reduced from seven to five years to increase the direct control of the electors over the members of that House.

The Lords could no longer claim the power to thwart the will of the Commons, but they could invoke some further consideration of non-financial measures if they deemed it expedient. The House of Lords still finds a serviceable place in the British constitution chiefly because among those peers who take an active part in its proceedings are numerous elder statesmen, many of whom were raised to the peerage in recognition of their distinguished services, and who on certain subjects are able to contribute helpfully from their knowledge and experience to the process of law making. Nearly half the peers have been created in the last half-century. Thus the House of Lords is not so great an anachronism in a democracy as its form would indicate.

Education and Democracy. Agitation for extension of the franchise to the working classes awakened the "ruling class" to the need of extending education to them. Soon after the Reform Act of 1832 annual government grants had begun to be given in support of voluntary schools, which were mostly run by educational societies, many of them religious. When an investigating Commission reported on the problem in 1861 many persons of the working classes were still growing up without schooling. In discussing the Reform Act of 1867 a member of Parliament wisely said "We must induce our masters to learn their letters." The Trades Union Congress in 1869 came out strongly for a national, unsectarian, compulsory system of education.

The foundations of a new system of popular education were laid by the Elementary Education Act of 1870, which was intended to "cover the country with good schools". It divided England and Wales into school districts. In every district that needed further school accommodation, School Boards were set up with power to levy a local school tax or "rate" which would provide one-third the cost, the parent paying one-third and the government one-third. The Boards were to be elected by the local ratepayers and have power to require attendance of children between the ages of five and ten. By an act of 1880 attendance at school was made compulsory for all children up to 14, and in 1891 schools became "free", the state paying two-thirds of the cost, and the local rates providing the other third. By 1911, illiteracy, which had been 24 per cent. in 1871, had decreased to one per cent.

Secondary education also was improved and its opportunities extended to all classes by better regulation of existing endowed schools and the establishment of new schools at public expense. In the last quarter of the century technical education also advanced. By 1890 evening classes were being given in both academic and technical subjects for those unable to attend during the day.

Religious differences ceased to bar students from equal privileges. By 1854 religious tests requiring conformity to Anglicanism were abolished as a condition of matriculation at Oxford and two years later Cambridge made bachelors' degrees available to nonconformists. By Acts of 1871 and 1876 all religious tests for university degrees and appointments were abolished except in theological faculties. New colleges were also founded in many cities, often in affiliation with the University of London. Some of these became independent universities of high standing.

In many secondary schools and colleges girls and women now found educational opportunity equal to that of male students.

Other phases of educational advance were being explored before the War of 1914, which have become conspicuous in later years, for example, larger attention to the health of children in elementary schools, a much more varied educational programme, a new emphasis on adult education, and a wide extension of scholarships for secondary schools and universities.

Scotland had early possessed a fruitful system of elementary education. There and in Ireland, progress after the middle of the nineteenth century was noteworthy and comparable with that in England and Wales.

The spread of education was accompanied by an astonishing growth of popular newspapers and magazines. Book-publishing also increased, especially inexpensive editions of great writers and introductory books on many subjects. Thus the education of the general population for its enlarged political responsibilities went on apace.

The growth of British democracy and its present quality are not to be measured merely by the extent of the franchise. No less important in building a genuine democracy has been the enlargement of opportunities for all citizens, of whatever social origins, to secure an education suited to their native capacities. Their better rounded development as individuals has made them more helpful members of a free society and wiser citizens of the state.

The Civil Service Placed on a Merit Basis. An important innovation in the third quarter of the nineteenth century was the establishment of a merit basis for admission to the Civil Service, making appointment dependent upon success in open competitive examinations. The practical advantages of this policy were soon evident in promoting efficiency in administration and a high standard of conduct among public servants and politicians. Other democracies have profited from British experience in this as in so many other aspects of government.

Rise of the British Labour Party. The Conservative party grew out of the Tory party, but with a new name and a new outlook. The Liberal party grew out of a combination of Whigs and Radicals. A large group of Irish members formed, for many years, the Irish Nationalist Party which, on occasions when it held the balance of power, was able to form temporary alliances with the Liberals. At the turn of the century the Labour Party appeared in Parliament.

Its origins can be traced to two movements among the British people—trade unionism, which has already been described, and socialism. Socialist organizations developed rather slowly in Britain. During most of the nineteenth century attention was concentrated on making the political system more democratic. It was taken for granted that this would carry with it adequate further measures of economic and social reform. As the process of political democratization neared completion in the 1880's, societies were established to study socialist doctrines, but none was organized as a political party till 1893 when the Independent Labour Party was formed by Keir Hardie. At first it was only successful in municipal elections and not till 1900 did it have a member in the House of Commons.

In that year a conference was called in London of representatives of the Independent Labour Party, socialist groups and the trade unions. Out of it developed a labour party with its own policies, funds and party whips. By 1906 it had a membership of nearly a million, elected twenty-nine members in the Commons and adopted the name of the British Labour Party. Its policy included improved social services, various workmen's insurances, increased taxes on higher incomes, and the nationalization of key industries such as mining, electricity, and transportation.

From 1906 to 1914 it was content to support a Liberal Government whose programme included advanced social legislation. When the war came the Labour Party continued to support the Asquith government and in 1915 joined the coalition government, of which it remained a part until June 1918 when it withdrew to prepare for the coming elections. In those elections the National Government had a sweeping majority but the Labour Party became the official opposition. Its advance to the position of the second largest party in Parliament had been aided by the decline of the Liberal Party. In 1924 the first Labour cabinet took office under Ramsay MacDonald but without a clear majority over the other two parties.

In many ways the British Labour Party has taken over much of the position of the Liberal Party as a party demanding more radical reform. The political reforms emphasized by the Liberal Party had been largely realized. The programme of the Labour Party emphasized economic reconstruction and social services. It shared the tradition of all British political parties that reform should be gained by peaceful and constitutional means and that personal liberty should be respected. It secured for labour more share in government than it felt able to gain within the older parties whose leaders were drawn largely from the upper and middle classes. At the same time it should be remembered that no British party has ever been exclusively a class party. In the Labour Party were to be found members of the aristocracy and of the professions; while many a British labourer continued his support of the Conservative party.

The Irish Question. The development of British democracy in this era was complicated by the Irish question. Between 1815 and 1840 the population of Ireland doubled. Unfortunately Ireland did not have adequate resources or industries with which to support such an increase. The problem was aggravated by the presence of a landlord class who were looked upon as aliens. Attempts in Parliament to aid the

Irish tenantry came up against opposition both from Tories and from disciples of *laissez-faire.*

The Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 had provided only temporary relief in the famine crisis which followed failure of the potato crop. The famine led to emigration on a large scale, which was stimulated further by an abortive rising in 1848. Some of those who emigrated carried with them bitterness towards Britain which resulted in such events as the Fenian Raids on Canada in the 1860's.

Gladstone and Ireland. When Gladstone became Prime Minister he felt that one of his special tasks must be to find a solution for Irish problems. The Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 had done much to meet religious difficulties in Ireland. In 1869 Gladstone's government carried through Parliament an Act disestablishing the Church of Ireland, which had been officially established during the Protestant Reformation and was similar to the Anglican establishment in England, but had never been accepted by most of the Irish people. This measure ended the grievance of legal discrimination in religious matters, though religious differences continued to embitter the Irish question.

Two other grievances remained to be dealt with, the land question and "Home rule". Gladstone centred his efforts on solving them, but it remained for others to find final solutions. It will be simpler to deal with these questions separately than to follow the whole story chronologically.

The Irish Land Question. Many Irish landlords were absentees and were chiefly interested in collecting income from their lands. Tenants who spent money on improvements were liable to have their rents raised, and if evicted they received no compensation for improvements.

Gladstone, in a series of Land Acts, assured tenants a secure tenure, fair rents, compensation for improvements, and opportunity to sell their rights in their holdings. He began a policy of providing government loans to assist tenants wishing to purchase their holdings from their landlords. The Conservatives made a great success of this policy. In 1903, they set aside £100,000,000 (later raised to £180,000,000) which was loaned to tenants for long terms at low interest and which enabled them to buy their land.

The Irish Home Rule Question. From the 1840's on there was a strong movement in Ireland for Home Rule. In 1879, when Charles Stuart Parnell became its leader, the movement took on new vigour. The Irish Home Rulers, or Nationalists, frequently held the balance of power in the House of Commons and could demand the adoption of a policy of Home Rule as the price of their support.

Gladstone favoured Home Rule and twice brought in bills to set up an Irish Parliament which would deal with all matters except trade, defence and foreign affairs. The first bill (1886) was defeated in the House of Commons; the second (1892) was thrown out by the House of Lords. A third bill was passed in 1912 but by that time the northern counties had decided they would fight rather than be governed from Dublin, while a group who adopted the name Sinn Fein (we ourselves) were determined upon complete independence for Ireland. Each group had started a party militia. The Great War came in 1914 before the Home Rule Act could be put into force. Redmond, as leader of the Home Rule party at Westminster, pledged Irish support in the war. The Sinn Fein, however, refused aid and at Easter 1916 attempted to set up an Irish Republic. The rising was crushed but the movement gained new followers and in the parliamentary elections of December 1918 won 73 out of 107 Irish seats. Successful Sinn Fein candidates refused to go to Westminster and instead set up their own parliament at Dublin.

Conflict continued, but negotiations for a settlement were carried on almost constantly. In 1920 a Government of

Ireland Act was passed to give separate parliaments to Northern and Southern Ireland, both of which would still send members to Westminster where control of defence and foreign affairs would remain. There was also to be a central council of twenty members from Northern and twenty from Southern Ireland to deal with matters affecting both, which it was hoped would provide a transition to their complete union. Northern Ireland set up its government in accordance with this Act. Southern Ireland refused; and in the ensuing elections all the members returned, except the four from University constituencies, were Sinn Fein. In further negotiations Dominion status was offered for Southern Ireland. The Sinn Fein leader, Eamon de Valera, refused it but his more moderate supporters signed a treaty accepting it and the Irish Parliament in Dublin as well as the British Parliament at Westminster gave approval. Southern Ireland thus in 1922 became the Irish Free State, a British dominion, enjoying, by the terms of the Treaty, a status like that of Canada.

Mr. de Valera and the Republicans refused to accept this decision and for two more years Ireland had to suffer distress and destruction, this time from civil war. The rebellion against the Free State government was crushed, however, and in 1923 under William Cosgrave the Irish Free State could turn in peace to the task of governing Southern Ireland.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter the dates given in the text in your time chart under "British Politics" and "Economic and Social Changes".

2. What is the basis of the franchise in your community (a) for electing a member of Parliament, (b) for electing a member of the Legislature, (c) in municipal elections?

3. Relate the following to the problem of economic distress in Ireland: (a) population; (b) illiteracy; (c) lack of coal; (d) climate.

CHAPTER XXIII

NATIONAL MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE (1850-1914)

Nationalism Spreads in Europe. National consciousness in many parts of Europe was increased by improvements in transportation, the growth of industry, and the expansion of trade, for these brought people who shared a common national tradition and national feeling into closer touch and strengthened their desire to unite in a strong state independent of other nations.

Realization of this aim involved different processes in different regions. In Italy and Germany it meant uniting a number of smaller states. In the Danube basin and the Balkan peninsula it meant breaking up the old Austrian and Turkish Empires. In some countries nationalism was united with the liberal aims inspired by the early French Revolution and by the example of British parliamentary government, but in many these liberal aims were largely or entirely lacking.

The Italian States in 1850. In 1850 Italy was still only "a geographical expression". The revolutions of 1848 and 1849 had left Lombardy and Venetia under Austrian rule. Parma, Modena and Tuscany had dukes of Austrian family and were thus also under Austrian influence. The Papal States were under the protection of a French garrison. The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was a despotism under a Bourbon monarchy. Constitutional government existed only in the Kingdom of Sardinia, or Piedmont. It became the nucleus around which the Kingdom of Italy was unified.

Three men of very different personalities and abilities, Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour, stand out in the story of

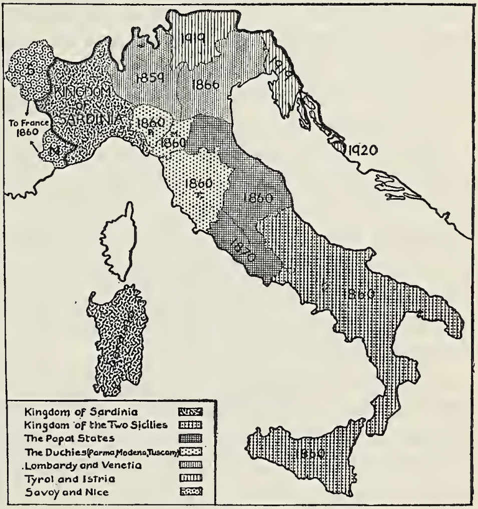
Italian liberation and unification. Mazzini, an ardent revolutionary advocate of liberal and republican ideas, had inspired earlier efforts at liberation. Garibaldi had already won fame in the cause of Italian liberty and was later to win more. The constructive statesman was Count Cavour, who was Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Sardinia (1852-1861).

Cavour and the Kingdom of Sardinia. Though an aristocrat by birth, Cavour had business experience. He held views typical of liberal reformers in nineteenth century Europe, and wanted a united Italy with King Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia as its constitutional monarch on the British parliamentary model. Cavour realized that success involved both removing foreign control and bringing prosperity to Italy by agricultural and industrial development. He preferred gradual means to revolution.

With a modernized army Sardinia joined Britain and France in the Crimean War and thus Cavour found opportunity, at the Peace Conference in Paris in 1856, to bring the Italian question to the notice of the allies and gain the sympathy and support of European liberals. A promise to cede Nice and Savoy to France won Napoleon's support for a war of liberation against Austria in 1859. Sardinia gained Lombardy but Venetia remained under Austrian control. The three duchies drove out their rulers and resisted Austrian and French pressure for their return, being strengthened in their resistance by a British declaration of support. Austria had to agree to a plebiscite by which in 1860 the duchies voted to join Sardinia. Romagna, part of the Papal States, also by plebiscite entered the Kingdom of Sardinia. Nice and Savoy after a plebiscite were annexed to France.

Garibaldi and the Kingdom of Italy. About the same time in southern Italy, Garibaldi, the adventurous "knight-errant of Italian nationalism", a former member of Mazzini's Young

Italy society, whose revolutionary efforts in 1848 had failed, was renewing his fight for Italian liberty. With the consent of the Sardinian government he went to Sicily with his "red-shirt" volunteers, soon freed the island, and marched triumphantly on Naples. He would have attacked Rome, but Victor Emmanuel and Cavour would not risk war with France and perhaps with Austria. The King led an army south, crossing the central Papal States, which he annexed in passing. His army helped in the final victory over the Neapolitan forces and Garibaldi turned over his command to Victor Emmanuel. By the end of 1860 Sicily and south Italy voted to join Sardinia and in the following March Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed King of Italy.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1859
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KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
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N
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1860
Kingdom of Sardinia
Kingdom of the Two Sicilies
The Papal States
The Duchies (Parma, Modena, Tuscany)
Lombardy and Venetia
Tyrol and Istria
Savoy and Nice

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

Venetia was added to the Kingdom in 1866 as a reward for Italy's alliance with Prussia in the latter's victorious war against Austria. Four years later, during the Franco-Prussian War, Napoleon III withdrew the French garrison from Rome, which shortly became the capital of Italy. The Pope refused to recognize the seizure, retired to the Vatican, and considered himself a prisoner of the state. He refused to accept a financial settlement for the loss of the other papal lands, and forbade Catholics to vote or hold office in the Italian Kingdom. In 1905 this ban was lifted.

Italy's Constitution, Economic Position, and Foreign Policy. The constitution of the Kingdom of Italy was modeled on the British system of a parliament of two houses and a responsible cabinet. This put a heavy burden on the Italian people, who except in Sardinia had no previous experience in handling such a system of government. The franchise was at first based on literacy as well as property, but in 1912 universal male suffrage was introduced.

Modernization of the Italian economy had already begun in the north and was promoted by state assistance, though Italy's lack of coal and iron handicapped some phases of her industrial development. The south, which was mainly agricultural, remained relatively backward. Military ambitions diverted much of the national revenue, and little was left for social services and education, though some progress was made in these matters.

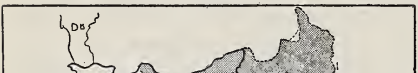
The new Italy hoped to extend its boundaries to include several small Italian-speaking areas beyond the northern frontier and on the east coast of the Adriatic, and to acquire territories in Africa. These aims led to surprising shifts in Italy's foreign policy. Jealousy of France in North Africa led her to join Austria and Germany in a triple alliance, which she deserted in 1915 when the Western Powers held out hopes of her acquiring Italia Irredenta (unredeemed Italy) by joining forces with them. Meanwhile, her hopes of becoming a colonial power suffered a reverse when the Abyssinians threw back Italian invaders in 1896, though by a war with Turkey in 1911-12 she strengthened her position in the Mediterranean by securing Tripoli, Cyrenaica and the Dodecanese Islands.

Bismarck Extends Prussian Territory and Forms the North German Confederation. Prussia's desire for a united Germany under her own leadership was encouraged by the progress of the industrial revolution in a number of the larger German states. Improved transportation and a Zollverein or Customs Union, which now included most German states except Austria, promoted unification. Austria was still, however, the chief state in the Germanic Confederation, from which she must be excluded if Prussia was to control it. Under a soldier king, William I, the army was enlarged, parliamentary opposition to the necessary increase in taxation being over-ridden. Count Otto von Bismarck, his ruthless and efficient minister, put through this policy and, having secured an adequate, trained army, proceeded to fulfil his famous statement of 1863 that German unity would be attained "not by speeches and majority votes . . . but by blood and iron."

By skilful diplomacy Bismarck strengthened Prussia's position in Europe and in three deliberately provoked wars created the German Empire. The first war was with Denmark in 1864 and forced her to relinquish the duchies of Schlezwig and Holstein. He then proceeded to pick a quarrel with Austria. Superior preparations and modern equipment, including a quick-firing rifle, the new "needle gun", enabled Prussia in seven weeks to overrun those German states which had sided with Austria and to inflict on the latter a crushing defeat.

Annexation of a number of lesser German states rounded out Prussia's own territory and she now became a first-class power and dominated the new North German Confederation which replaced the old Germanic Confederation. A group of South German states remained aloof, but they formed a military alliance with Prussia.

The North German Confederation was organized as a federal state of which the King of Prussia was president and his prime minister was the chancellor. It had an Upper House (Bundesrat) which represented the sovereigns of the member states, and a Lower House (Reichstag) elected by popular vote. William I and Bismarck saw to it that military and foreign affairs and trade were under the direct control of the federal government, which in turn was dominated by Prussia.



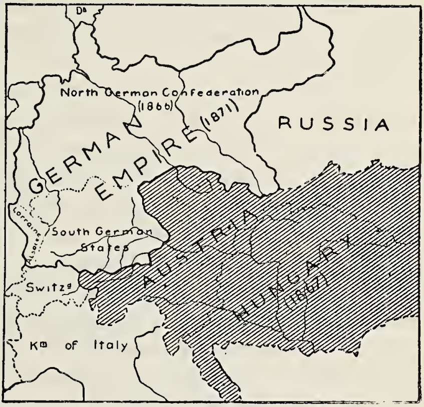
CENTRAL EUROPE IN 1859

The Franco-Prussian War and the Creation of the German Empire. The third and greatest of Bismarck's wars was with France, where Napoleon's III's waning prestige made it easy to provoke him to a conflict that would rouse French patriotism in support of his throne. Controversy over the claim of a Hohenzollern prince to the Spanish throne gave Bismarck an opportunity to precipitate a French declaration of war, and German armies immediately invaded French soil.

Napoleon and more than 100,000 of his men, in an unsuccessful attempt to relieve the French Army at Metz, were defeated on September 1, 1870, at Sedan, and the empire fell in France. The French people organized a government of national defence but the Germans laid siege to Paris, which fell in January. By the terms of the peace Germany acquired Alsace-Lorraine and was pledged a substantial indemnity. But more important than these fruits of victory was the unification of sentiment between the Confederation and the four South German states, which led to their union and the coronation of William I of Prussia as German

Emperor in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. This, for the French, added insult to injury.

The constitution of the German Empire was simply an extension of that of the North German Confederation. The King of Prussia became the hereditary emperor with powers to declare war or peace, to make treaties, to choose his own chancellor, who in turn chose his other ministers. The latter were simply heads of government departments and not a cabinet.



CENTRAL EUROPE IN 1871

Bismarck as Imperial Chancellor. Bismarck was the imperial chancellor till 1890. He was determined to make Germany strong and prosperous, but not democratic. Unlike Austria-Hungary, Germany had no large problem of disaffected racial minorities. Unlike Italy she had great natural resources for industrial development. As in both those countries the government had to face the questions of relations with the Roman Catholic Church, the growing power of socialism, and increasing demands for political democracy.

The south German States were mainly Roman Catholic. Bismarck tried to destroy the power of their church in German life. He met such stout opposition that eventually he moderated his policy and won the support of the Catholic or Centre Party against the Socialists. Bismarck's policy for coping with the Social Democratic Party was a combination of repressive measures with state action to improve the lot of the workers, which accounts for Germany's early adoption in the 1880's of various forms of social insurance. The Social Democratic Party, however, continued to grow.

The German Empire adopted a free trade policy for a time, but, as industrialization made rapid headway, it turned to a policy of protection, which was particularly acceptable to the manufacturers and landowners of the Conservative Party, besides increasing the customs revenues of the central government.

Bismarck remained opposed to colonial expansion till about 1884, when the demand by industrialists for German protection of their companies seeking raw materials and markets in Africa and the South Pacific could not be withstood. Germany then began to engage in a contest for colonial empire and to build a strong merchant marine.

William II as German Emperor. In 1888 the throne of Prussia and the Empire fell to William II, young, ambitious and capable. He soon clashed with Bismarck and dropped him as pilot of the German state. Thereafter William himself was powerful in policy, and none of his chancellors had the influence of Bismarck.

William was ambitious in foreign affairs, and Germany's military might was supplemented by large programmes for naval expansion and colonial development. The constant increases in taxation that these ambitious plans involved produced a constitutional crisis in 1906, but it ended in a victory for William's government. The National Liberals and Social Democrats repeatedly demanded extensions of the franchise, representation by population, and the responsibility of ministers to the Reichstag, but discussion of these matters never led to action. So intent was the government on expanding Germany's interests abroad that domestic reforms had to wait. Thus when the Great War came in 1914 the German Empire was still under essentially the same autocratic constitution as in 1871. National unity had been achieved but not democracy.

The Second French Empire (1852-1870). We have seen how Napoleon III quickly sold the idea of a Napoleonic empire to the people. For the first decade of his reign he easily kept the support of his subjects. The Industrial Revolution was making rapid headway and the country was prosperous. He beautified Paris, and his court became the centre of a French culture that was admired throughout the civilized world. But his government was less efficient than it seemed, and it was certainly not democratic. Like his uncle he provided an imposing façade of constitutional government, but debate in the legislature was limited and elections were manipulated. Strict censorship muzzled the press, while a secret police system and arbitrary imprisonment were employed to silence political opposition.

Foreign Affairs and the Fall of the Second Empire. Napoleon III had promised expansion and peace. French possessions were extended in the Southern Pacific, in Southeast Asia and in North Africa, but his foreign ventures failed on the whole to raise his prestige and in the end brought disaster.

Soon after his empire was established, Napoleon entered the Crimean War (1853-56). With the aid of his allies, Britain and Sardinia, Russian ambitions in the Near East were curbed and Turkish integrity preserved, but France's position was in reality less secure than it seemed during the peace conference following the war. His intervention in Italy, which we have already noticed, alienated the Catholic party when he failed adequately to support the papal position, and alienated the liberals when he ceased to help Sardinia and tried to curb Italian unification.

The successive triumphs of Prussia, as we have seen, spelled disaster for the French nation. In contrast to Bismarck's diplomacy, Napoleon's, as the crisis drew near, failed entirely to ensure European support for France. And so the stage was set for her defeat and the overthrow of Napoleon.

The Third Republic (1870-). Following her defeat, France endured a period of despairing uncertainty. Before it was over, the National Assembly, which made peace with Germany, had to send its own troops against Paris, where a revolutionary Commune had defied the government of France. In some ways, however, the nation recovered with surprising speed, paying off the war indemnity in two years and thus getting rid of the German army of occupation.

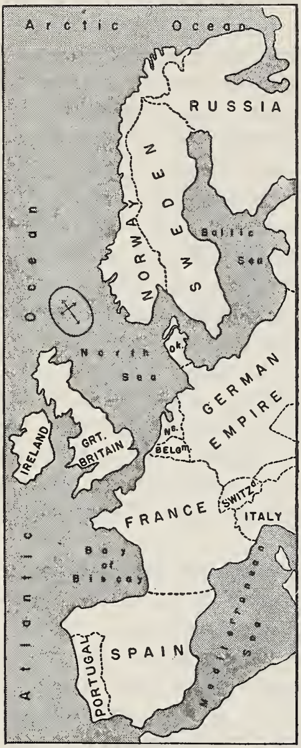
The Constitution of the Third Republic. Divisions between Monarchists and Republicans made it difficult to agree upon a new constitution, but in the end the moderate Royalists united with the latter as they preferred a republic to absolute monarchy. By the constitution of 1875 the Third Republic was given a legislature of two houses: a Senate, elected indirectly for nine years, and a Chamber of Deputies, elected by direct manhood suffrage for four years, with a president chosen by the legislature for seven years and eligible for re-election. The president's rôle was to be very much like that of the British king and the direction of government was to be in the hands of a premier and cabinet who must be chosen from the Chamber of Deputies.

The Third Republic never managed to acquire the political stability of the British parliamentary system or the American congressional system of government. Party organizations remained weak, with many groups rather than with two parties predominating. Ministries were based upon combinations of groups. Since a ministry had to resign if it were defeated on any measure, however trivial, there were frequent resignations of cabinets and regroupings of their members, though seldom was there any drastic shift in policy. Elections were held only at the regular four year intervals. The voters under this system were presented with no clean-cut choice between parties or between programs, and French politics remained too much a matter of manoeuvres by individuals and groups.

The Dreyfus Case. There remained deep cleavages among the French people, between royalists and anti-royalists, clericals and anti-clericals, reactionaries and liberals. The intensity of feeling on many of the issues that divided France was dramatically illustrated in the Dreyfus case, which coloured French politics for more than a decade. In 1894 Captain Alfred Dreyfus, an Alsatian Jew, was charged with treason and found guilty of giving military secrets to Germany. Before long, liberals championed his cause, charging that he was the victim of a royalist, clerical, and anti-semitic plot, centering in a group of army officers, and that the evidence on which he had been convicted was forged. The case became the scandal of a century until, in 1906, the supreme court of France declared Dreyfus innocent and fastened the guilt of forgery on a royalist and anti-semitic army officer. Dreyfus was reinstated in the army, promoted and decorated, and the army was brought more directly under government control.

France and the Church; French Socialism; the French Economy; Revanche. Clerical influence was attacked in the early years of the new century by laws which dissolved many Catholic orders and removed education largely from church control. By 1914, eighty per cent. of French children were attending national schools. In 1905 all state support of religious denominations came to an end and church property became the property of the state.

Socialism had been checked by the defeat of the Paris Commune of 1871, but Socialist groups increased in the Chamber of Deputies as years went by. The more numerous they became, the deeper the splits among them. There was little to distinguish the more moderate Socialists from other types of liberal Republicans.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ITALY
Bay of Biscay
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Mediterranean Sea

OCEANIC EUROPE IN 1914

Meanwhile, under the Third Republic, the French colonial empire had grown until it was the second largest in the world. Increased industrial production and expanding commerce had led to the abandonment of *laissez-faire* for a policy of protective tariffs designed to increase manufacturing and make France self-sufficient. In spite of increased industrialization and the fact that Paris was one of the world's greatest cultural centres, France was still predominantly a nation of peasant farmers, who formed a conservative and stabilizing element among the French people.

By 1914 France was again, unquestionably, a great power. But her humiliation of 1870 was not forgotten. Alsace and Lorraine were still her "lost provinces". The French people cherished a hope that some day they might have their revenge and that France might find permanent security against her age-long enemy on the eastern frontier.

Switzerland; the Low Countries; Scandinavia. The countries of Europe which enjoyed the most untroubled history between the middle of the nineteenth century and the First World War were the smaller democracies.

Switzerland maintained her democratic constitution and a high degree of national unity, notwithstanding the division of her people into three distinct groups, speaking French, German and Italian. The necessity of unity, if national independence was to be secure, explains this cohesion.

The Low Countries, Belgium and the Netherlands (or Holland), continued on their way as constitutional monarchies. As in the past, they occupied one of the key economic situations in Europe and thus in the world. Both had important colonies whose development played a significant part in their economies.

The Scandinavian nations, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, were likewise constitutional monarchies, which became increasingly democratic during the nineteenth century. The population of each was homogeneous and all three were closely akin in their languages and in their life. Yet they preferred to be separate nations because of their geographical situations and their several national traditions.

All of these smaller democracies of the west were among the most advanced societies in the world, not only in their political constitutions, but in the cultural level of their people and in the intelligence with which they handled their economic and social problems.

Spain and Portugal. In contrast with the advanced condition of these countries was the political, economic and cultural backwardness of Spain and Portugal in the poorly-endowed Iberian peninsula. Notwithstanding their historic memories of former grandeur, they were now comparable in many ways with the countries of the Balkans rather than with their neighbours in western Europe.

Austria-Hungary. The Dual Monarchy (1867). Weakened by defeat at Prussia's hands, Austria reached agreement with

Hungary in 1867 by which the two countries were recognized as a "dual monarchy" of two equal states with independent Diets. For some matters they were to have the same ministers. The settlement was fairly satisfactory to the Germans in Austria and the Magyars in Hungary as they remained the ruling races in their respective portions of the empire. It did not satisfy the minority races.

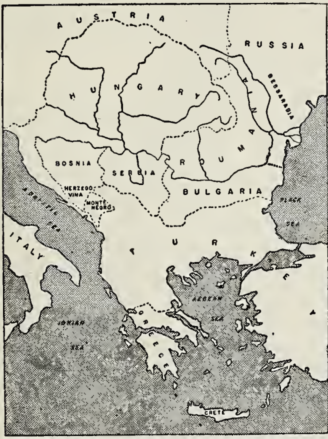
Austria's policy was more liberal politically than Hungary's, and also promoted industrialization. The most progressive of the subject states was Bohemia, where economic progress was great. Among the Czechs of Bohemia, and among the South Slavs both under Hungarian and under Austrian rule, nationalism was supplemented by Pan-Slavic sentiment, which was encouraged by Russia and fomented in the south by Serbia.

Despite the racial hatreds and political unrest that divided the subjects of Francis Joseph, they all had a genuine if unrecognized interest in preserving some unity of political organization, because they lived as neighbours in an area to which the Danube River gave a geographical unity in relation to the rest of the continent.

The Balkan Peoples. In the Balkans national movements were more complex than elsewhere in Europe. Long subjection to Turkish rule had imposed an artificial unity on a region which was actually much divided by mountainous barriers and whose peoples were diverse in language, race and national tradition. Their divisions and jealousies were strengthened by the fact that at different times before the Turkish conquest Greeks, Bulgars, and Serbs had each in turn ruled so much of the Balkans that their ambitions to restore their former national greatness conflicted irreconcilably.

Most of them were adherents of the eastern or "orthodox" type of Christianity, though the Albanians were Moslems and the Croats were Roman Catholics. Religion was thus a link with Russia, which was strengthened by the fact that a number of the Balkan peoples were Slavic in language and to some extent in race.

Decline of the Turkish Empire. The Turkish Empire had once been great not only in extent but in wealth and power and in the efficiency of its rule, but it had always been despotic and in the nineteenth century its despotism degenerated into a combination of cruel tyranny and weak inefficiency. Turkey had become "the sick man of Europe" and "the Eastern question" was the problem of who should succeed to his estates.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BLACK SEA
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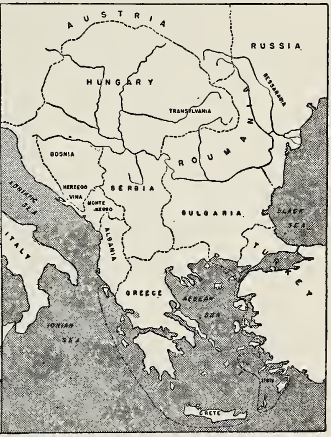
SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE AFTER THE TREATY OF BERLIN, 1878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ADRIATIC SEA
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IONIAN SEA
CRETE

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE AFTER THE TREATY OF BUCHAREST, 1913

The Crimean War (1853-1856). The Congress of Berlin (1878). The Crimean War was fought by the Western Powers essentially to prevent Russia profiting too greatly at Turkey's expense. In the outcome the Black Sea and the outlet by the Straits were demilitarized, navigation on the Danube was made free, Moldavia and Wallachia (later Roumania) became autonomous principalities and gained part of Bessarabia from Russia.

In Serbia, despite feuds between rival claimants to the throne, national ambition grew, and in the 1870's, when revolt broke out among neighbouring Serbs in Bosnia, war was made by Serbia and tiny Montenegro on Turkey in their behalf. Bulgaria also rose against Turkish oppression.

The Western Powers condemned Turkish atrocities, but Russia, when Turkey appeared to be crushing revolt, intervened and defeated the Turks. The terms of peace then proposed by Russia tended greatly to enlarge her influence in the Balkans. She had to consent to their revision by a conference which met at Berlin in 1878. It cut down the boundaries of Bulgaria, placed Bosnia and Herzegovina under Austrian control, and gave Bessarabia to Russia. Serbia and Montenegro were somewhat enlarged, and the administration of Cyprus was turned over to Great Britain to facilitate the defence of Turkey, for which Britain assumed obligation.

The Balkan Wars (1912-1913). None of the Balkan countries was satisfied or tranquil. When a nationalist movement began in Turkey in the new century, a revival of Turkish power was feared and various steps were taken to forestall it. Austria formally annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 and Bulgaria declared her complete independence. Internal strife opened Turkey to attack. Italy declared war upon her and won Libya and the Dodecanese Islands in the Aegean Sea (1911-1912). The Balkan nations, united for once by opportunity, formed a league in 1912 and drove Turkish power out of Europe, except for a strip along the Straits. Their settlement with Turkey soon had to be revised, partly because Austria and Italy insisted on an independent Albania, and partly because war broke out between Bulgaria on the one hand and Serbia, Greece and Roumania on the other, which compelled Bulgaria to yield parts of her conquests to her neighbours by the Treaty of Bucharest. Turkey seized the opportunity to regain Adrianople.

"The Eastern Question" Remains. The Balkan Wars had brought no final settlement. Bulgaria still wanted to bring all Bulgars under her rule and Roumania wanted Bessarabia from Russia and Transylvania from Hungary. Serbia hoped more than ever to unite all the South Slavs in a strong kingdom. Realization of these ambitions would disrupt the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which now felt itself threatened.

The triumph of nationalism in the Balkans had not made its nations into liberal democracies. They remained backward politically and economically, most of their people illiterate and poverty-stricken and bitterly divided not only by national differences but class from class. Greece was in part an exception to the general picture, owing to her Mediterranean position and a revived tradition of her ancient culture, but her politics were troubled.

Russia in 1850. The national and liberal ideals of the French Revolution had made little impact on Russia, though they interested a few intellectuals and some of the Army, who glimpsed in western Europe a liberty and prosperity unknown at home. Reaction still ruled in the empire of the Czars in the middle of the century. The inflow and exchange of liberal ideas were prevented by a strict press censorship, by the prohibition of travel abroad, and by strict control of universities. If, in spite of such restrictions, liberalism showed itself, there was the secret police known as the Third Section, which could arrest and condemn without recourse to ordinary courts.

Czar Alexander II Attempts Reform. Emancipation of the Serfs (1861). Russia's disastrous defeat in the Crimean War (1853-1856) revealed the inefficiency and corruption at the heart of the empire, and a new Czar, Alexander II (1855-1881), set out to modernize his nation. He began by allowing political exiles to return, lifting the press censorship, allowing travel abroad, and restoring freedom to the universities. By royal decrees in 1861, 1863, and 1866 he freed some 40,000,000 serfs on the royal estates and on the estates of some 100,000 nobles. The emancipated serfs gained the rights of free men in the courts, and were organized in mirs. These village communities, whose yearly dues to the state for the land were less than the former feudal dues to the nobles, re-allotted the land among the peasants each year. As population grew, overcrowding continued to cause agrarian distress. Production, however, increased following emancipation. The new freedom of movement, moreover, particularly of domestic servants, provided a labouring class for new industrial growth.

Alexander also established the beginnings of local government which would include all classes, and introduced judicial reforms and the theory of equality under the law.

Reaction. Nihilism. Alexander Assassinated. The central Russian government remained arbitrary, and Alexander, discouraged by criticism and by subversive movements, became reactionary. The centre of opposition was the Nihilist movement, which was based on a philosophical belief in destroying existing institutions and traditional ideas concerning social, political and religious matters. It coupled propaganda for socialism with violence against established authority.

To cope with his enemies the Czar re-instated press censorship and made more use of the Third Section, deporting to Siberia large numbers of moderate socialists. This made it easier for the "force" group to gain control, and a vast secret organization grew up aiming at reform by terrorist means. After several attempts on his life the Czar was assassinated in 1881. His successor increased the restrictions upon freedom of discussion and the secret police became more active. All who professed sympathy with Nihilism were systematically expelled. As the movement had never touched the bulk of the Russian people, its force was spent.

Progress in Industrialization. New Political Parties. In the last decade of the century the rapid industrialization of Russia began. By 1917, though still mainly agricultural, she ranked fifth among the industrial nations.

Demands for political and economic reform grew, meanwhile, among the peasantry, the industrial workers, and the new capitalists of the industrial revolution. In 1898 a general congress of labour unions formed the Social Democratic Labour Party, which split in 1903 into two groups, the Bolsheviki under Vladimir Ulianov (Lenin), who desired a complete victory for the proletariat by which they might set up a dictatorship and organize a revolution on Marxian lines, and the Mensheviki, who preferred to establish socialism by democratic means. A party also arose known as the Constitutional Democrats who desired moderate reform under a constitutional monarchy.

The Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). The Revolution of 1905. The Duma. The disasters of the Russo-Japanese War, like those of the earlier Crimean War, showed the corruption and inefficiency of government and intensified demands for reform. Strikes and riots broke out in many places, culminating in a general strike and considerable bloodshed in October 1905.

Czar Nicholas II (1894-1917) felt compelled to make concessions, recalled as premier Count Witte, whom he had foolishly dismissed two years earlier, and granted a constitution, in which he promised civil and religious liberty, cancelled arrears of peasants' rents, and called for an elected parliament or Duma. Many of the middle class Liberals were prepared to accept this "October Manifesto", though others sought further concessions. Within two years the Czar dissolved two Dumas for demanding that the ministry be made responsible, and limited the franchise before the third was elected so that it became merely the legislative tool of the ministry. Nevertheless in time it might have proved the first step towards establishing a constitutional monarchy if the international crisis of a general war had not brought revolution again to Russia as the aftermath of defeat.

Russian Expansion. Russia had never ceased her policy of expanding, and in the later nineteenth century had extended her empire in Central and Eastern Asia till it embraced many peoples of various races and languages. We have already seen how her influence grew in the Balkans, though prevented from becoming preponderant by the intervention of other powers. As it was, she had regained Bessarabia from Roumania. Following her defeat by Japan in the Far East and the check to her ambitions in Manchuria, her external policy became centred in the Near Eastern question.

Pan-Slavism was a growing movement in Russia during these years. This was a cultural and political movement based on the common race and tradition of all Slavic nationalities and the view that Russia should become the leader of a Slavic bloc in Europe. It was a by-product of an intense and growing Russian nationalism, which demanded not only Russian territorial integrity but outlets on the Baltic and the Pacific and influence in Persia and Afghanistan as well as in the Balkans, and a fleet on the Black Sea.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter the dates given in the text in your time chart under "International Relations", "Wars", "Political Developments in Europe" and "Territorial Changes".
2. Account for the late unification of (a) Italy, and (b) Germany.
3. Account for the early industrial development of Belgium and her ability to support the densest population.
4. Why did the industrial revolution come so late in Russia?

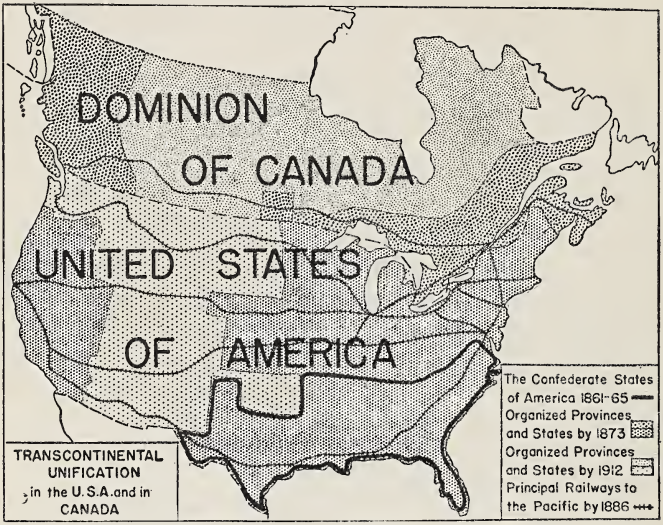
CHAPTER XXIV

NATIONALISM IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE (1850-1914)

Crisis in the United States over Sectionalism and Slavery. The northern and southern sections of the eastern United States differed economically and culturally from colonial days. Differences between them increased in the nineteenth century, as the spread of small-farm agriculture and the growth of industry and commerce made the North more and more democratic, and as the extension of cotton plantations based on slave labour had an opposite influence in the South. The North wanted protection for its industry. The cotton-exporting South wanted free trade. Each section hoped, as settlement spread westward in the Mississippi basin and beyond, that it could extend its own type of society into the West and thus dominate the nation. At last economic rivalry and political jealousy between these two sections and ways of life reached the breaking point.

The American Civil War (1861-1865). Emancipation Proclamation (1863). The American Civil War involved more combatants and more casualties than any previous war in modern times. The North with its greater resources by and by succeeded in encircling the Southern Confederacy, in cutting off its trade with the outer world, and in defeating its armies.

Abraham Lincoln had been elected President in 1860 by the party opposed to the extension of slavery into the new states recently settled in the west. In a debate with his political opponent, Douglas, he had said, "This nation cannot endure half-slave and half-free." He and his government, however, insisted that the war was being fought not to free the slaves but to preserve the Union. It was only on the latter basis that the maximum strength of the North could be mobilized in the national cause, though slavery had long been condemned by the Abolitionists. As the war went on the time came when it proved possible on grounds of military policy to declare the slaves free. President Lincoln then issued a proclamation for their emancipation.


DOMINION
OF CANADA
UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
The Confederate States of America 1861-65
Organized Provinces and States by 1873
Organized Provinces and States by 1912
Principal Railways to the Pacific by 1886
TRANSCONTINENTAL UNIFICATION in the U.S.A. and in CANADA

Reconstruction. Following the defeat of the armies of the Confederacy, came a difficult period of reconstruction in the South, when the States that had rebelled were gradually brought again into the currents of national life.

Many of those who had fought on one side or the other joined the large number of settlers who were making new homes between the Mississippi and the mountains, in the great basin between the Rockies and the Sierra Nevadas, and in the fertile valleys along the Pacific slope.

The nation, having survived its ordeal and remained united under a single national government, became more nationally conscious than ever before. It also became more assured that it had a preferred destiny as a home of freedom.

Economic Growth of the United States. By the close of the century settlement had so far advanced that there were no longer any large areas of free and fertile land unoccupied. Immigration, however, did not decline but increased, coming now more and more from the less advanced areas of southern and eastern Europe instead of from the northwest as formerly.

At the turn of the century there was so much construction of railways and other public utilities, and industry was expanding so rapidly, that these absorbed a large proportion of the new immigrants, who concentrated in the industrial centres rather than making new homes "on the land" as a large proportion of their fore-runners had done.

Rapid economic growth produced an era of ruthless "big business" which aroused widespread criticism, and the Republican President, Theodore Roosevelt (1901-1909), led a Congressional attack on the "Trusts" to bring them under regulation. He championed what he called a "Square Deal". Shortly afterwards a Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921) held out to his people hopes of a "New Freedom". It remained for a later Democratic President, Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933-1945), to combine these programmes and slogans in his "New Deal".

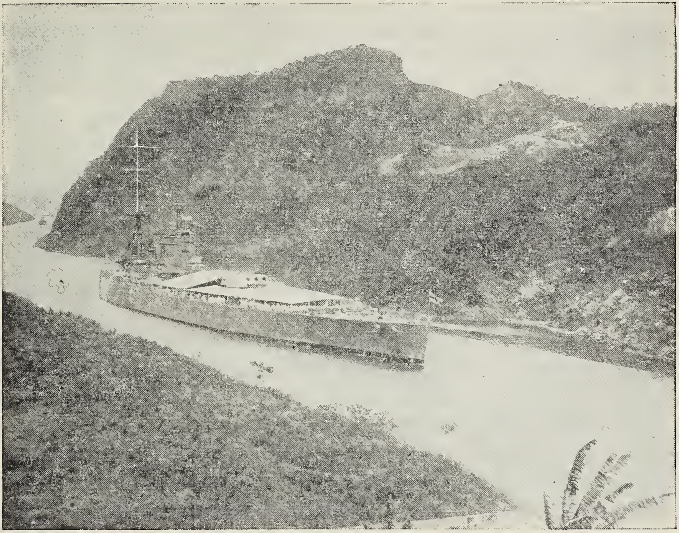
Territorial Expansion of the United States. "Manifest Destiny" had been the slogan of territorial expansion in the middle of the nineteenth century. Prior to 1850, such expansion had been within the continent, confined to territory suitable for organization as states of the union. All of it became so organized by 1912.

After the Civil War, however, the territorial expansion of the United States was of a different sort. It involved the acquisition of outlying possessions that were unlikely to achieve the position of states. In 1867 Alaska was purchased from Russia. By 1898 missionaries and other settlers from the United States had become so numerous and influential in the Hawaiian Islands that their request for annexation was granted. Tutuila, in Samoa, was obtained in the following year. Already claim had been laid to more than fifty small islands scattered in the Pacific, some of which were to become important later as air bases and radio stations.

The Spanish-American War (1898). A long-standing American interest in Cuba led to sharp controversy with Spain during a revolution in the island at the close of the century. War was declared and Spain was quickly defeated. She lost Cuba, Porto Rico, Guam and the Philippines. Cuba was soon set up as a republic under the protection of the United States. Porto Rico, as a colonial possession, was given a measure of representative government somewhat like that in British crown colonies.

In the Philippines, after native resistance to the new American rule had been suppressed, the United States authorities did much to promote education and public works. In 1907 a beginning was made in representative government, and nine years later the Jones Act, which enlarged it, stated the purpose of Congress to recognize the independence of the Islands when a stable government was established. Yearly thereafter the Philippine Legislature by unanimous vote demanded immediate independence.

The Panama Canal. Extension of American interests in the Pacific as well as in the Atlantic stimulated a desire for a canal across the Isthmus between the American continents which would bring nearer the two oceans and the two coasts of the United States. The Republic of Colombia, in whose territory the Isthmus of Panama lay, was reluctant to agree to conditions proposed by the United States. The deadlock was broken in 1903 when a local revolution set up a Republic of Panama, to which President Theodore Roosevelt at once gave official recognition. A treaty was soon made with the new republic under which a Canal Zone ten miles wide was placed at the disposal of the United States. In 1914 the canal was opened to the ships of all nations on equal terms. Some years later the United States met the claims of Colombia by a cash settlement.



THE PANAMA CANAL
The Canal was opened to traffic in 1914. This view shows *H.M.S. Nelson* in the Gaillard Cut during the Second World War.

The United States and Latin America. The Monroe Doctrine (1823). Interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine varied greatly both in the United States and in Latin America, some emphasizing its "big brother" and "good neighbour" aspects, others, particularly in Latin American countries, holding that it cloaked aims at United States political influence and economic domination in Latin America, especially in the Caribbean region. Cuba and Panama were set up under circumstances that made them protectorates of the United States. President Theodore Roosevelt extended the Monroe Doctrine to cover the exercise of an "international police power". This "Roosevelt corollary" was to lead after 1914 to armed intervention by the United States in several smaller republics.

The good neighbour aspects of the Monroe Doctrine became more conspicuous under President Wilson, who, during difficulties with Mexico arising from a revolution in that country, called into consultation the governments of the principal South American countries, the "A.B.C. powers", Argentina, Brazil and Chile.

The Pan-American Union (1889). Early attempts to link the Latin-American republics in some kind of organization failed owing to their geographic and historic separateness and the jealousies that marred their relations. The economic importance and political prestige of the United States and the fact that it was itself outside the Latin-American group, enabled it to take a lead in establishing in 1889 the Pan-American Union. This had its headquarters and a permanent secretariat in Washington. Its governing board comprised the diplomatic representatives of the Latin-American republics in Washington under the chairmanship of the Secretary of State of the United States. The Union served as a clearing house for information and under its auspices international conferences were organized with the hope of encouraging co-operation among the member nations. During its early decades this organization had little practical significance, and any further account of it is therefore postponed till a later chapter.

The United States in 1914. By 1914 the United States had become a continental power, fronting the two greatest oceans and with imperial interests and responsibilities in both. The thirteen colonies which had left the British Empire in the eighteenth century had created a new nation, building on their experience with representative government as colonies of the old empire. That new nation, with its institutions further shaped by new-world conditions, had now become one of the greater powers of the world.

Its people had been largely engrossed with extending settlement, building railways, establishing industry, and creating a varied national life in the vast spaces between the Atlantic and the Pacific. They had therefore tended to overlook the imperial aspect of their own national history, which had been involved in their territorial expansion, first within the continent and then beyond, and in the further extension of their economic interests and political influence in the world.

Colonial Nationalism in the British Empire. Responsible government, which had been achieved in the provinces of British North America in the late 1840's, was introduced also as time went on in other British colonies.

That this system had in it the seeds of national growth was widely recognized in Great Britain. Some welcomed it because it promised a peaceful road by which colonies could in time take their departure from the Empire. Other believers in responsible government in Great Britain, however, and its supporters in the colonies, were confident that removal of the frictions caused by the existing form of the colonial relationship would encourage the preservation of a connection whose advantages the people of the colonies did not want to lose.

History proved that both points of view contained a large measure of truth. Self-governing colonies by and by developed into Dominions, whose status grew till there emerged the British Commonwealth of Nations, in which colonial subordination was replaced by equal partnership.

British North America in 1850. Disunity. Growth of Common Interests. Especially important for the British North American provinces was their nearness to the United States, which had influenced their development at many points. The expansion of settlement in British North America and in the United States was in some ways a single movement in which migrating people, both newcomers to North America and old residents, often crossed the international boundary in one direction or the other.

By the end of the 1850's population was moving into the section of the United States west of the Great Lakes. Would the region northward across the forty-ninth parallel from these new American settlements, which was still a fur-trading preserve in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company, be settled by the people of the United States or of British North America? Gold discoveries drew immigrants to British Columbia and raised a like question there.

It was evident that the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Northwest was no longer adequate. The Province of Canada was determined that the region should become her hinterland. But Canadian expansion in that direction would be much more likely to succeed if the old Province of Canada and the Maritime Provinces by the Atlantic were first united politically.

This whole group of old provinces in the eastern part of the continent had also growing problems within their own borders affecting their relations with one another. The 1850's were a time of much railway building in the several provinces. The railways failed to earn the profits that were expected and instead had to be helped out by public funds. It was argued that if the railway system of the St. Lawrence could be linked with the railways near the sea in the Maritime

Provinces the through-traffic to winter ports such as Halifax and Saint John would help to put the whole railway system on a sound basis.

The provinces enjoyed growing trade with the United States under a Reciprocity Treaty obtained in 1854, but within a few years criticism of the treaty south of the border aroused fears that its advantages might be withdrawn. This prospect made the people of the provinces desire to promote more trade among themselves; they began to see advantage in abolishing all restrictions upon it by forming a political union as the states of the United States had done under their federal system.

Constitutional difficulties in the Province of Canada were acute. Diversities of economic interest between Lower Canada and Upper Canada were accompanied by jealousies between the predominantly French-Canadian population of the former and the growing English-speaking population of the latter. Some radical constitutional change was needed.

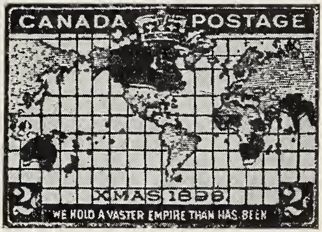
British North America and the American Civil War. The Civil War in the United States (1861-1865) made British North America's problems more critical. It was a time of tension between the United States and Great Britain. As the war progressed, the American attitude towards the colonies became less friendly. Talk of terminating the Reciprocity Treaty led to its actual abrogation by vote of Congress early in 1865 to take effect in the following year. Some Americans, especially in the heat of elections, not only argued that such political measures would lead the colonies to seek annexation to the United States, but predicted that if necessary the new military power of the latter would be used after the defeat of the South to take possession of the provinces.

The Dominion of Canada Established (1867). The people of the provinces came to realize that if they wished to establish a nation of their own and to ensure that its domain should be continent-wide, now was the time to act. Their leaders accordingly took counsel together in 1864, in Conferences first at Charlottetown and then at Quebec. At the latter, the Fathers of Confederation embodied the principles of a federal union in the Quebec Resolutions. Their proposals easily won acceptance in the Province of Canada. In the Maritime Provinces, however, it took the threat of Fenian Raids from across the border in the summer of 1866 to tip the balance. After further consultation in London among delegates from the several governments and with the British government, the British North America Act was passed through Parliament as the legal basis upon which, on July 1, 1867, Canada began her life as a nation.

Prior to the 1860's the British Government had felt that union of the provinces would be premature. It approved the project of the Fathers of Confederation, as it was now convinced that such a step was needed to place Anglo-American relations on a satisfactory basis and at the same time assure Canada's independence from the United States.

A Growing Canada (1867-1914). In furtherance of the same purpose the British government used its influence to speed negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company and thus help Canada secure the great territories of the North and Northwest. Once that was accomplished and the province of Manitoba formed in 1870, negotiations could proceed with British Columbia, in which also the British government supported the policy of extending the Dominion to the Pacific. British Columbia joined the Dominion in 1871 and Prince Edward Island in 1873. In 1880 Great Britain turned over the Arctic Islands to Canada. In 1905, the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta were formed. Railways across the continent opened the prairies of the West to agricultural settlement, and thither went most of the immigrants that swarmed in from Europe, particularly after the middle 1890's, seeking free land. The transcontinental railway system was supplemented by a policy of tariff protection to strengthen the economic unity of the country, by encouraging Canadian manufacturers to satisfy the demands of the growing western Canadian market as well as the market of the east.

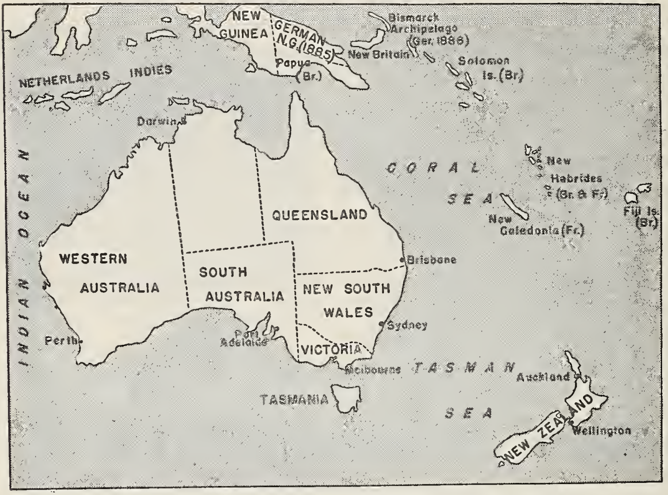
Canada, the Empire, and the United States. In the later nineteenth century and in the years prior to the First Great War, Canada's position as a nation within the British Empire became clearer. At the same time the question as to whether the formation of the Dominion was a step towards becoming part of the United States was answered by history as it unfolded. While Canadians generally continued to hope and work for the largest possible trade with their neighbour to the south, with whom in many ways they shared a community of life, it became clearer that this did not mean an intention to abandon the ideal of building a Canadian nation. This attitude became unmistakable when in 1911 Sir Wilfrid Laurier's government was defeated in an election in which the major issue was a reciprocity agreement just negotiated with the government at Washington. Statements of American leaders that the agreement was a step towards annexation were seized upon in the election and did much to insure the government's defeat. The establishment of a Canadian nation thus had two sides, the creation of a national government replacing imperial authority, and the continuance of an independent position in relation to the United States.


CANADA POSTAGE
2
XMAS 1898
WE HOLD A VASTER EMPIRE THAN HAS BEEN
2

A CANADIAN VIEW OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1898
Marking the beginning of Imperial penny post

By 1914 both the United States and Canada had an assured national future, though it was to take two World Wars to bring them to full realization of their national responsibilities in a world society of nations.

The Australian Colonies. The discovery of gold in 1851 in Australia speeded its settlement. Responsible government was established in the middle of the decade in several Australian colonies: New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania. When Queensland was separated from New South Wales in 1859 it received full political institutions at once. West Australia developed more slowly and did not attain responsible government till 1890.


NEW GUINEA
GERMAN N.G.(1885)
Bismarck Archipelago (Ger. 1886)
New Britain
Papua (Br.)
Solomon Is.(Br.)
NETHERLANDS INDIES
Darwin
CORAL SEA
New Hebrides (Br. & Fr.)
Fiji Is. (Br.)
New Caledonia (Fr.)
INDIAN OCEAN
QUEENSLAND
WESTERN AUSTRALIA
SOUTH AUSTRALIA
NEW SOUTH WALES
Brisbane
Sydney
Perth
Port Adelaide
VICTORIA
Melbourne
TASMAN SEA
Auckland
TASMANIA
NEW ZEALAND
Wellington

AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, AND THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC, 1914

A federal union of the colonies in Australia was talked about even before any of them had responsible government, but for a long time they remained too separate in their life for union to be practicable. Each had access to the outer world directly by sea and the economic relations of each with Great Britain were more important than with the other Australian colonies. New South Wales, moreover, possessed for a long time a population so much larger than any of the others that each of them saw in talk of union a threat of domination by the senior colony.

As time went on, similar conditions of life and their relative nearness to one another compared to their distance from the outer world developed among the people of the several colonies a common feeling as Australians. There was not as much desire even yet for larger trade among the colonies as there had been in the provinces of British North America, nor did railway building present so important a common problem, in view of every colony's independent frontage on the sea and the fact that much of the interior of the continent was not inviting to settlement.

The population of Australia was unusually homogeneous for a new country, being almost entirely of British stock. Australians early made up their minds that in order to avoid future racial troubles and to maintain a wholesome respect for physical toil among their own people they would keep their country a "white Australia". If they were to do so, it would be advisable to consolidate their political position.

In the last quarter of the century the situation in Asia and in the Pacific was changing. Japan was becoming a modern power. Russia was actively developing her Pacific coast. China was stirring. Germany and France were acquiring colonies in the southwest Pacific. Germany's acquisition of part of New Guinea, lying immediately north of Australia, was particularly disquieting. The people of Australia had formerly taken for granted their security under the protection of British sea power, but here was a possible future threat at their doorstep. A sense of security now gave way to an awareness of insecurity, which led to contributions to naval defence and more active study of the possibilities of political union.

The Commonwealth of Australia (1901). A Convention of delegates appointed by the several governments drafted a union measure as early as 1891, but their project was dropped. By 1895 it was revived when a Conference of Prime Ministers was able to adopt an unofficial proposal that a Convention, representing the colonial legislatures, should meet to draft a federal constitution. The Convention met in 1897 and 1898. Its proposals, completed by a Conference of Prime Ministers, were approved by popular vote. Thus, as in the case of Canada, the decision to unite was an Australian decision and Australian leaders shaped the form of the new union. They sought formal authority by asking the British Parliament to pass an Act under which the Commonwealth of Australia came into being as a federal union on January 1, 1901.

Australia, like Canada, grew rapidly in the pre-war years. She, too, was torn by tariff dissensions which at times grew very bitter. Rapid progress in industrialization between 1900 and 1914 was accompanied by more radical political developments than in Canada. The Labour Party held the balance of power from 1900 and in 1908 gained control. Most of the states, even before federation, had adopted significant social reforms for the protection and security of urban workers.

Australian nationalism after 1900 as before was fostered by a fear of vulnerability in a European or an Asiatic war, and as early as 1911 Australia adopted compulsory military service and started to build a navy.

New Zealand. Sometimes Australia and New Zealand are lumped together under the term Australasia. This is misleading. New Zealand is not really close to Australia; it is separated by more than one thousand miles of ocean. In the earliest days of settlement it was treated for a short time as an extension of the sphere of authority of the Governor of

New South Wales, but this was not a workable arrangement. In its actual settlement and in the development of its government, New Zealand's relations with Great Britain were direct.

New Zealand acquired responsible government in 1855. Early settlements were so separated one from another by the mountainous character of the islands that in the Constitution Act of 1852 a system of government was devised along federal lines. With the growth of the colony and improvements in transportation community of life grew. This, and controversies over financial and other arrangements between the central and provincial governments, led the colonial legislature to abolish the provinces in 1875.

The sense of loyalty to New Zealand that is shared today by all its people was perhaps strengthened by that step. The unity of her people is also partly a reflection of their common origin in the British Isles. Settlement was more carefully planned than elsewhere in the Empire and a high standard of living for the whole population was established early. The developments in ocean transportation which have already been described contributed greatly to the continuing prosperity and growth of the colony by enabling it to ship its fresh meat and dairy products to the British market. Its commercial relations like Australia's remained chiefly with Great Britain. Thus, though New Zealand was the most distant part of the Empire from the mother country and was there often referred to as the Antipodes, it was perhaps the most British in its life and the closest to Britain in its relationships of any of the dominions.

New Zealand was a leader, within the Empire, in granting women's suffrage in 1893. The following year an Arbitration Court was set up for the compulsory settlement of industrial disputes. Old age pensions were started in 1898. Public utilities such as railways, mines, telephone and telegraph, and insurance were early taken over by the government. Well-organized co-operatives and careful governmental inspection of standards of exports such as dairy products and meat contributed to a vast increase in New Zealand's trade.

In common with Australia, New Zealand in the pre-war years became sharply aware of the dangers to security in the South Pacific, and in 1909 began compulsory military training.

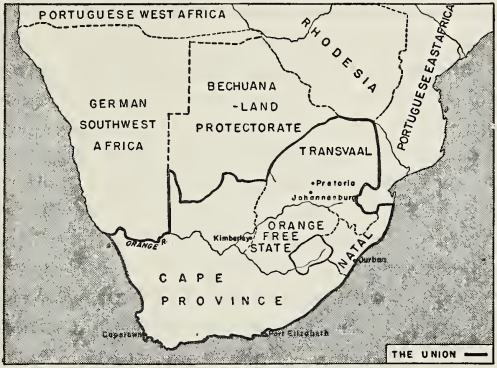
South Africa in the 1850's. South Africa contained the last group of separate communities to be united into a British Dominion. Its history was more complicated and more troubled than either Canada's or Australia's. The discontented Boer farmers who trekked from Cape Colony organized two Boer communities in the interior, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, which in the early 1850's the British Government recognized as self-governing republics but without power to restore slavery or deal with outside powers.

Abortive Attempt at Union. The following years changed the picture. The discovery of diamond mines at Kimberley raised more sharply the question of South Africa's political future. Cape Colony acquired responsible government in 1872 after some urging by the Colonial Office that it should accept the larger responsibilities involved. Now that the Cape thus controlled its own internal affairs, union between it and the Boer communities would be more appropriate than formerly. Leaders in the Cape were ambitious to link the colony with the promising territories beyond the Transvaal which later became Rhodesia. The Boers of the Transvaal feared this, but at the same time they felt their position endangered by the Zulus, a warlike native tribe on their eastern border. When war broke out with the latter the Boers were in a tight place.

Meanwhile the British government had come to believe that federal union would be good for South Africa, and decided to solve the Boer and native problems by annexing the

Transvaal. This step proved too hasty and provoked Boer resistance which culminated in defeat of a British force at Majuba Hill (1881). British policy was reversed again, and the Transvaal became a virtually independent republic.

The Uitlanders. Cecil Rhodes. The Jameson Raid (1896). In 1885 gold was discovered in the Transvaal in the range of hills known as the Rand. Quickly there assembled at the new mining centre, Johannesburg, a varied assortment of mining experts and adventurers and ordinary folk, mostly from Britain and some from the United States. These "Uitlanders" were soon providing a large proportion of the revenues of the Transvaal, whose Boer population they equalled in number by the middle of the 1890's, and they sought admission into the republic's political life. President Paul Kruger and his supporters were unwilling to grant this lest their country be dominated by the Uitlanders.


PORTUGUESE WEST AFRICA
RHODESIA
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
BECHUANA-LAND PROTECTORATE
GERMAN SOUTHWEST AFRICA
TRANSVAAL
•Pretoria
Johannesburg
ORANGE FREE STATE
Kimberley
NATAL
Durban
ORANGE R.
CAPE PROVINCE
Capetown
Port Elizabeth
THE UNION

SOUTH AFRICA AFTER UNION

Another element in the situation (which has come more clearly to light in recent years) was the ambition of Germany to expand its influence from German East Africa and German Southwest Africa into the whole intervening territory. Thus, in the end, Germany would become the master of South and Central Africa.

The Uitlanders were as much opposed to these German designs as they were to letting Kruger and his Boer farmers block their own plans for South Africa while running the Transvaal at their expense. They were in sympathy with the expansionist ambitions of Cecil Rhodes and his associates. Rhodes (1853-1903), who had made a fortune in Kimberley diamonds, dreamed of a united South African nation within the circle of the British Empire, and a Cape-to-Cairo railway. He was now Premier of Cape Colony and had succeeded in getting the support of the Afrikander Bund, the most influential element among the Boers of the Cape.

If Rhodes and some of his supporters and the leaders at Johannesburg had been more patient perhaps the bitter troubles that soon came could have been avoided, but the Uitlander leaders and a group in Cape Colony conspired, with the knowledge of Rhodes, to overcome the opposition of Kruger's government by violence. A band of raiders under Dr. Jameson entered the Transvaal but failed to receive the immediate support from the Rand on which it had counted and was speedily captured. Rhodes fell from power in disgrace and lost the good-will of his old Boer friends.

The South African War (1899-1902). From the day of the Jameson Raid tension grew. The British Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, impatient at the stubbornness of the Kruger Government, finally took so strong a stand that the latter delivered an ultimatum demanding that British forces should be withdrawn from the Transvaal border and no more sent to South Africa. The war proved no easy contest. The Boer farmers of the Transvaal and of the Orange Free State, which joined it, were good horsemen and good marksmen and they knew well the terrain over which they fought. They put up a courageous and skilful struggle and were defeated only after large bodies of British troops and the best British generals had been sent to South Africa.

The Opposition in Great Britain was very critical of the Government's policy, which they charged had made war inevitable. In other parts of the Empire, however, the feeling of imperial kinship and of common interest was strong, and contingents of troops were raised and transported to South Africa. These were not large, but their voluntary participation in the war was impressive evidence that self-government had not severed the links of loyalty between colonies and mother country.

Peace between British and Boers (1902). Peace was negotiated in 1902. Its terms were generous. The British government agreed to finance the rehabilitation of farms damaged in the war and promised responsible government to the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony as soon as possible.

A young Boer general, Jan Christiaan Smuts (1870-), later to become a world figure, played a significant part in these events. A Cape Colony Boer, who had made a brilliant record at Cambridge University, he had been an admirer of Rhodes till the Jameson raid; after that he had been a government official under Kruger and then a commando leader whose remarkable exploits had done much to prolong Boer resistance. He had thus already proved his devotion to his own race. At the final negotiation of the peace he was won to accept its terms when Lord Kitchener late at night drew him outside and told him that in his own heart he felt certain that the Boers could count on British official support for full self-government and union for South Africa. Later, during a visit to London, Smuts did much to persuade the British Government of the wisdom of following such a course without delay.

The Union of South Africa (1910). Once responsible government was in effect (1907), events marched rapidly towards union. The need for unified policies concerning railways, customs and native affairs brought agreement among the four provinces on an Act of Union. This was shaped by a National Convention appointed by the four Legislatures for the purpose. It met in 1908-1909, basing its discussions on a plan drawn up by General Smuts and a group of associates. The British Parliament accepted the Act in 1909 and the Union of South Africa came into being May 31, 1910.

In contrast to Canada and Australia, the Union was not a federation but a unitary state like New Zealand. Provincial councils still existed, but without any independent authority. The electorate, from the beginning, contained more Boer than British voters. The Prime Minister was General Louis Botha, who had been president of the Orange Free State and a leading general in the war. His chief associate in the Cabinet was the much younger man, General Smuts. Although some elements among the Boers refused to be reconciled to a continued British association, these leaders and the majority of their followers had been so impressed by the liberal spirit of British policy since the end of the war that they now saw in a continuance of a British connection not a threat to their freedom but a guarantee of its preservation. Thus South Africa was united under a government of its own making and in association with other parts of the British Empire before the Great War of 1914 came to test the Empire's power and endurance.

Foundations of Nationalism in India. In India, between 1850 and 1914, foundations were being laid for rapid progress towards nationhood in later years. A network of railways, built chiefly in the third quarter of the century, did much to promote unity. In building them, one purpose of the government was to make easier the relief of famine areas. The state also promoted irrigation projects to stabilize the food supply.

A system of higher education, which had been launched in the 1830's, gave the educated class throughout the country increasing acquaintance with the culture and political ideals of the western world; and the English language became a unifying vehicle of communication among educated men of diverse native tongues.

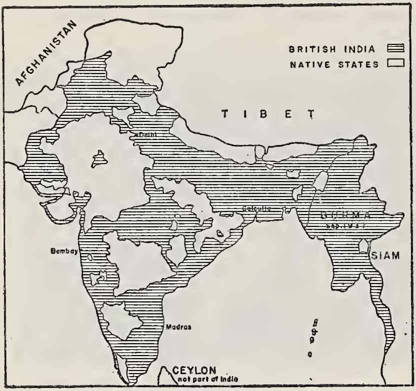
Governmental changes were also important. Following a serious mutiny in a section of the Indian Army in 1857-1858 the régime of the East India Company, which had long ceased to be a commercial organization, was ended and the British Government assumed direct responsibility for ruling India through a Secretary of State for India in the British cabinet. Those parts of India which had been brought directly under Company rule were organized as provinces of "British India". The remainder of the country comprised "native states" varying greatly in size and importance, whose rulers enjoyed a considerable amount of autonomy in internal affairs. In 1877 Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India, symbolizing that land's geographic unity and great traditions.

South African Government Information Office. New York

UNION HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT IN CAPETOWN

Table Mountain rises in the background. Capetown is the legislative capital of the Union and Pretoria is the administrative capital.

While the higher ranks of the government services in British India were manned by British officials of the Indian Civil Service, an elite corps of administrators selected by the most rigorous competitive standards, most of the numerous officials in India were always native Indians. As early as 1861 some of the latter were appointed to the Legislative Councils of the Viceroy and of the provinces. Later the elective principle was introduced, and in 1909 Indian representation on the Legislative Councils was greatly enlarged and their powers increased. Indians were also appointed to the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and of several provincial Governors, and to the Secretary of State's Council in London. Thus before 1914 important steps had been taken in representative government, which were to prove significant preliminaries to responsible government.



THE INDIAN EMPIRE IN 1914

As early as 1885 Indians with an interest in western political ideals held the first meeting of the Indian National Congress, an unofficial body which met with the approval of the Viceroy. Its members desired representative government for India, and for some twenty years its spirit was constructive and co-operative. Early in the new century, however, it became an extremist party, seeking more radical reforms, and sometimes advocating revolutionary methods.

Indian nationalism was the result of diverse forces. Its growth was to be speeded by the First World War.

Imperial Relations. Colonial and Imperial Conferences. As self-government spread in the empire and became more vigorous, it aroused fears lest it should lead to separation. In practical ways, however, a common consideration of common problems was secured. On the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887 a Colonial Conference was held in London. This was followed by similar conferences, known after 1907 as Imperial Conferences. From that date Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Newfoundland were styled self-governing "dominions". The Union of South Africa attained this position before the next Conference met in 1911.

These successive conferences, made up of leading members of the cabinets of the countries concerned, gave most of their attention to problems of trade, transport and communications, and defence. Proposals to encourage trade by reciprocal tariffs were put forward early, but Britain preferred to maintain her policy of free trade with the world. Such modest imperial preferences as were adopted by Canada in 1897 and later by other dominions therefore remained one-sided so long as Britain clung to free trade. The conferences did promote better steamship connections among the various parts of the Empire, and the Pacific cable connecting Canada with New Zealand and Australia was a result of the Colonial Conferences and an Economic Conference at Ottawa in 1894.

The Problem of Imperial Defence. At Colonial and Imperial Conferences defence was frequently discussed. The different situations of various parts of the Empire led to diverse attitudes on this question. Australia and New Zealand began in 1887 to make regular contributions to the Royal Navy on whose power they were well aware that their security depended. Canada was then less conscious of such dependence since the Monroe Doctrine contributed to her sense of security.

In 1909 an Imperial Defence Conference opened the eyes of Dominion leaders to the growing international perils. Canada joined Australia and New Zealand in assuming larger naval obligations. The Canadian government decided to establish a Canadian Navy which in time of war could co-operate in the defence of the Empire. This policy proved unpopular with French Canada as being too imperialistic, and with some elements in English Canada as not imperialistic enough. Therefore, while Canada had a navy of her own when war broke out in 1914, it contained only two old destroyers, neither of which was properly equipped for action.

Nationalism and Imperialism in the Dominions Before 1914. Great Britain could now see herself as the mother of new states which eventually would stand beside her as equals.

There had never in history been anything like this. The city states of the ancient Greek world had sometimes sent out colonists, but the "colonies" that they established were from the beginning completely separate politically from the parent state. The United States and the Latin American Republics had moved from dependent colonial status to independence, but the break had been violent and complete. The dominions were blazing a new trail towards a future when full self-government would be reconciled with a continuing recognition of inter-dependence and community of life, in a partnership no less genuine because free and equal. National feeling in them was strong and growing, but each had good reasons for wanting to preserve its British connection. This did more than reflect a common heritage; it was for each of them the surest guarantee of a continuing opportunity for an independent national life.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter the dates given in the text in your time chart under "British Empire and Commonwealth" and "The American Republics"

2. Account for the large immigration to Canada after 1895.

3. Discuss the influence of the following on the economic life of India: (a) population, (b) religion, (c) natural resources, (d) illiteracy.

CHAPTER XXV

THE NEW IMPERIALISM (1850-1914)

Imperialism Spreads. The rise of the British Dominions, as we have seen, really involved an abandonment of imperialism in the British Empire so far as these countries were concerned. India had never been officially classed as a colony. In this chapter we are concerned with those parts of the British Empire which may properly be called a colonial empire, and with the colonial empires of other powers. The latter half of the nineteenth century saw several of these colonial or dependent empires extended to include new areas and peoples.

Causes of Imperial Expansion (1850-1914). Industrialism stimulated desire for control of raw materials and of wider markets. Many goods could now be made and transported cheaply enough to be sold profitably in backward countries. Many such countries lay in or near the tropics and had natural products not produced in the temperate zone. Progress in exploration and transportation opened up extensive new areas, particularly in Africa and in the islands of the Pacific.

By the 1870's industrial competition was prompting several European powers to seek extension of their colonial possessions. Britain did not seek this in order to shut out competing traders, for it must be remembered that at this time free trade was her policy. (Only the overseas self-governing parts of the Empire had remained protectionist.) But Britain was reluctant to see the new colonial areas fall completely into the hands of protectionist powers which might put up barriers against British trade. These other powers, especially France and Germany, felt that Britain's earlier development of commerce and industry had given her a head start in colonial expansion which they must take active steps to offset, if they were to control the share of world trade which they desired.

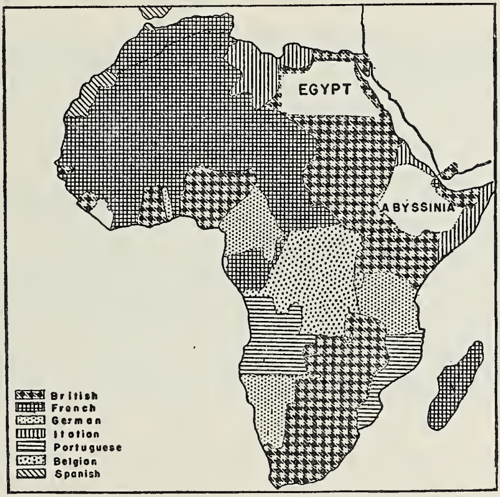
Policies of colonial expansion were sometimes justified by the argument that land was needed where emigrants might settle without forfeiting their allegiance to the Mother Country. This argument, however, had little application to most areas of colonial expansion in this period, for few of them had a climate congenial to European emigrants. Moreover, Germany and Italy, the countries which made most of this argument and complained of overcrowding at home, were doing all that they could to increase their home populations.

National ambition and questions of national prestige did much to secure popular support for policies of expansion. Governments had to take into account problems of security and power, in which an important factor was the possession of bases strategically situated.

It must also be remembered that under changing world conditions closer relations were inevitable between societies at very different levels of cultural and political advancement and economic efficiency, whatever might be the policies of governments. We must not forget that some of the new contacts were made by those who were eager that the backward peoples should receive the better elements of Western culture, and thus become adjusted as rapidly and painlessly as possible to a world in which they would have to hold their own with Western peoples as members of a world-wide society.

Policies of governments were sometimes affected profoundly by such humanitarian ideals. This influence was most pronounced on British policy, in which, as we have seen, recognition of the obligations of trusteeship had played a notable part in earlier years. It is easy to scoff at talk of "the white man's burden" as if it were merely a rationalization of self-interest and aggression, but honest thinking requires us to take into account the ideals as well as the material interests which influence the conduct of individuals and the policies of states.

The Partition of Africa. On the map the most spectacular phase of the rivalry for colonial territories was the partition of Africa. In tropical Africa only the coasts had been known to Europeans till the great lakes from which the Nile takes its rise, and the basins of the Niger and Congo Rivers, were explored in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Its resources in ivory, rubber, palm oil, and other natural products invited traders. The slave trade which was still actively carried on in the interior by Arabs and natives called for suppression. These motives were prominent among the influences which led European powers to enlarge their holdings



THE PARTITION OF AFRICA, TO 1914

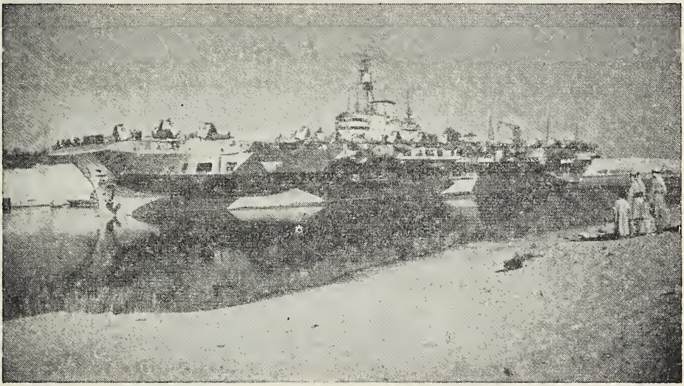
on the coast and acquire political control in the interior. On the basis of the pioneer work of traders, explorers, and missionaries, several powers began to stake out their claims. Adjustments of rivalries was accomplished in the main by peaceful methods of diplomatic bargaining, which culminated in 1884-1885 at the Conference of Berlin. By the end of the century tropical Africa was divided among Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy and Portugal, except for the American Negro republic of Liberia, Spanish Guinea, and Abyssinia in the mountainous country east of the upper Nile which managed to preserve its independence, defeating an Italian invading army (1896).

North Africa: Tunis, Egypt and the Suez, Morocco, Libya. France succeeded in supplementing her African province of Algeria, acquired in the 1830's, by establishing an effective control over Tunis (1881) and much of the desert and semi-desert region stretching from the Atlantic to Egypt.

While tropical Africa was being partitioned and France was extending her power in the north, Egypt also passed under European control. Under its Khedive, Egypt had been virtually independent since the early nineteenth century, though like much of North Africa it had remained nominally part of the Turkish Empire. The Suez Canal, built by a French company and opened in 1869, had given it new importance. By purchasing the Khedive's shares Britain had acquired a controlling interest. Britain's great interest in the Suez-Red Sea route to India had already led her to bring a number of local rulers on the southern coast of Arabia under her protection.

When the Khedive's extravagance led to his bankruptcy after heavy borrowing in Britain and France, the governments of these powers in 1882 demanded control of Egyptian finances. Revolt soon broke out and France withdrew, leaving Britain to suppress the revolt and straighten out

Egyptian finances. Desert tribes in the Sudan revolted successfully against the Egyptian government in 1881, and later a combined Anglo-Egyptian force under General Kitchener recovered control. The Sudan became a condominium under joint British and Egyptian sovereignty. The reconquest of the Sudan was just in time to forestall expansion of French control eastward to the Upper Nile. A French expedition sent for this purpose was blocked by Kitchener at Fashoda (1898). The resulting international crisis was weathered when France ordered her expedition withdrawn.

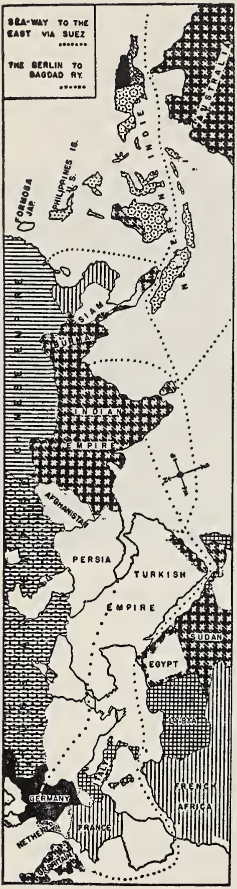


THE SUEZ CANAL

Arabs watch *H.M.S. Indefatigable*, a new aircraft carrier, pass through the Suez Canal on her way to the East during the Second World War.

France was disappointed at the continuance of British influence in Egypt, but by and by (1912) succeeded in establishing a protectorate over most of the independent state of Morocco, the rest passing under Spanish protection. Italy, disappointed when France gained Tunis, later, by her war with Turkey (1911-1912), obtained Tripoli and Cyrenaica in

North Africa and the Dodecanese Islands in the Aegean which till then had remained part of the Turkish Empire.


SEA-WAY TO THE EAST VIA SUEZ
THE BERLIN TO BAGDAD RY.
AUSTRALIA
INDIE
PHILIPPINES IS. U.S.
FORMOSA JAP.
CHINESE EMPIRE
SIAM
BURMA
INDIAN EMPIRE
AFGHANISTAN
PERSIA
TURKISH EMPIRE
SUDAN
EGYPT
LYBIA
ITALY
FRENCH AFRICA
GERMANY
FRANCE
NETHER
GR. BRITAIN

EMPIRES ON THE WAY TO THE EAST, 1914

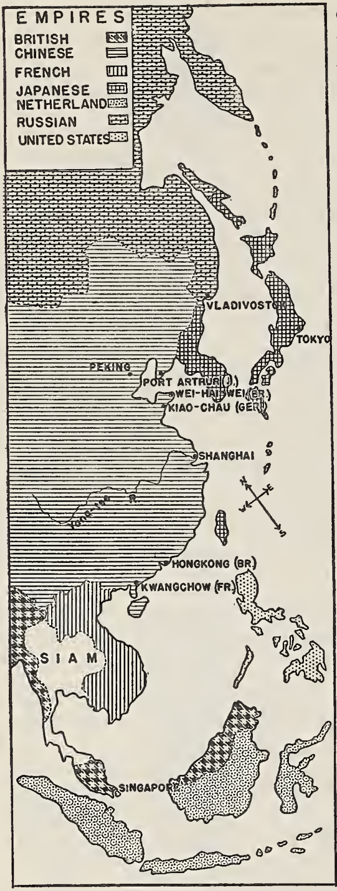
Germany and the Middle East. Egypt and the Suez Canal were important to Great Britain for their strategic position on the sea route to the East. Before the century was out, Germany was shaping dreams of African empire. In these plans Egypt was a necessary part. William II courted the goodwill of Turkey, hoping to establish German influence there and eventually extend it southwards through the Turkish lands east of the Mediterranean and through Egypt, linking German East Africa and German Southwest Africa with the intervening regions, all to be under the German Empire. This was for the future. Of more immediate importance was a concession from the Sultan of Turkey in 1899 for a German-built railway from the Bosphorus to Bagdad and the Persian Gulf, which would give Germany an outlet to the Indian Ocean and place her in a strong position for a future march to the East.

Russia, Britain and France in Southern Asia. While Britain, France, Italy and Germany were all interested in the eastern Mediterranean and in the lands to the south and east to which it gave access, Russia also was extending her interests southward. We have already noticed her special concern with the Near Eastern Question in the Balkans and Turkey. Further to the east she pushed her frontiers to the borders of Persia and Afghanistan and sought to establish her influence in those kingdoms. Persia was important to her for its situation on the Indian Ocean; Afghanistan because it lay on the borders of India. Britain, fearful of Russia's designs in those countries, was at first more concerned to prevent Russian influence from becoming dominant there than to establish predominant influence herself. British control was extended in Burma and Malaya, while France extended her possessions in Indo-China.

The Islands of the Pacific. During this era European powers were also adding to their island possessions in the South Seas. In the earlier part of the nineteenth century trade with them grew, and missionaries from Europe and America sought to carry to them the more desirable aspects of western culture. Competition in trade plus a growing recognition of their value as bases of sea power led now to the planting of the flags of several European countries and of the United States throughout this island world.

China. By this time the fate of China was under discussion. The Chinese Empire had for many centuries been the home of one of the world's great civilizations. The western world had little contact with China till modern times. China's products, such as fine silks, reached Europe, but through the hands of the peoples of southern and western Asia.

The English East India Company extended its trade to China in the eighteenth century, and, towards the middle of the nineteenth century, merchants from England and from the United States were carrying on a growing traffic with the cities of the China coast. Chinese authorities, while willing to have some trade with such foreigners, wished to keep it restricted and refused to deal with foreigners on terms of


EMPIRES
BRITISH
CHINESE
FRENCH
JAPANESE
NETHERLAND
RUSSIAN
UNITED STATES
VLADIVOSTOK
TOKYO
PEKING
PORT ARTHUR (J.)
WEI-HAI-WEI (BR.)
KIAO-CHAU (GER.)
SHANGHAI
N
E
W
S
YANG-TSE R.
HONGKONG (BR)
KWANGCHOW (FR.)
SIAM
SINGAPORE

EMPIRES IN THE FAR EAST, 1914

equality. Out of the controversies arising from trade, in which at that time opium from India played an important part, came the so-called Opium War (1840-1842) which was followed by China opening certain ports more freely to the British. The United States and other western powers profited from this British success by securing like privileges in the treaty ports. The system established under these treaties not only gave foreigners trading privileges but also gave to the consular representatives of foreign governments jurisdiction over foreigners in the treaty ports. These special privileges were known as extraterritorial rights. (They were ended by treaties in 1943.)

Shanghai became a centre of commerce for the Yang-tse Valley and foreign settlements growing up within its area made it the most international city in the world. In 1842 Britain had secured Hong Kong, a nearly uninhabited rocky island near Canton, and developed it into a great seaport and a prosperous colony. Many Chinese were attracted to it as settlers, and it became the centre of trade with South China.

Japan, China and Russia. Japan was compelled to open its doors to foreign traders by a United States naval mission under Commodore Perry in 1853-1854. Thereafter Japan rapidly adopted western customs and industrial methods and quickly became a modern naval and military power. In 1894 she attacked China, and after a short war annexed Formosa (1895). Germany and France and Britain secured ports on the coast of China at this time. Russia, pushing down from Eastern Siberia, gained Port Arthur and the Liaotung

Philip Gendreau, New York

SHANGHAI
The Bund, or river front embankment

peninsula. By her defeat in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) she was forced to hand them over to Japan. In 1910 the latter annexed Korea, and Russia established her influence in Outer Mongolia.

The Boxer Rebellion (1899-1900). The Open Door Policy. The administration of the Chinese Empire had become corrupt and inefficient. It seemed possible that the powers might divide it into spheres of influence and perhaps later annex these regions to their several empires as they had previously done with large sections of Africa and Southern Asia. Chinese antagonism to the foreigner reached a climax at the end of the century in the Boxer Rebellion. The uprising was an anti-foreign movement and the European, American and Japanese Legations in Pekin were menaced by the rebel forces.

The powers had to choose between withdrawing their nationals entirely from China or insisting that China continue to deal with the outer world. They sent contingents of troops in an international expedition from the coast to Pekin. Their success in reaching the capital terminated the rebellion and the Chinese Government promised to suppress anti-foreign societies and pay an indemnity. The latter was remitted by most of the governments involved in order that it could be used for cultural and constructive purposes and to promote better understanding between China and their own countries.

Britain and the United States were also concerned lest the growing spheres of influence of other powers in China should restrict their own opportunities for trade. Before the outbreak of the Spanish-American War the British government suggested that they join in trying to insure equal commercial opportunity. The capture of the Philippines increased American interest in the Far Eastern Trade. In the following year the policy of the Open Door in China was announced to the powers by the American Secretary of State. This policy was interpreted to mean that no country should secure exclusive commercial rights in any part of China, but that all countries, whether they had special concessions there or not, were to enjoy opportunities of trade.

In 1911, westernizing influences in China brought revolution which overthrew the old empire. A republic was declared, but instead of stabilizing China's political system it began a long era of internal dissension.

Latin America. Competition among those countries which were expanding their commerce on the basis of an industrial revolution extended also into South America. During much of the nineteenth century Great Britain was the chief source of foreign capital for building railways and other large enterprises there. As the nineteenth century advanced, newer industrial countries like Germany and the United States entered the Latin American field as investors and traders. After the Spanish-American War, in most of the countries around the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico, the United States exercised the chief economic influence. Except in the Caribbean area, however, South America was as near to Europe as to the United States and found a surer market in Europe for its products. It was, therefore, in the interest of most of the continent to continue to buy largely from European producers. Britain and Germany and to a lesser degree France and the Netherlands continued to share in the commerce of most of South America. Britain still maintained the largest share of trade with the Argentine and Uruguay, from which came an important portion of her wheat and meat.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter the dates given in the text in your time chart under "International Relations", "Wars" and "Territorial Changes".

2. The colonial empires of Portugal, Spain, and the Netherlands were established in an earlier period. On a world map show them as they were at their greatest extent and in 1900.

CHAPTER XXVI

The International Scene (1850-1914)

A Growing World Community. As the peoples of the world were drawn into more intimate relations numerous international organizations were founded to serve their common needs. For example, the International Red Cross was formed in 1864; thirty powers organized a Universal Telegraph Union in 1875; and three years later sixty adhered to a Universal Postal Union. International organizations and conferences of an unofficial sort also became numerous.

Yet, while the world was becoming more of a single community in many aspects of life, international rivalries were growing more intense and more far-reaching. We have seen how competition among the nations stimulated imperial expansion. This involved questions not only of economic interest but of national prestige and the desire for security. The world became conscious of growing insecurity.

The absence of any world authority necessarily left the preservation of order and security in the world community in the hands of its more powerful members. In the later nineteenth century the Great Powers in Europe did succeed on numerous occasions in averting conflict or preventing its spread. The Congress of Berlin (1878), which revised Russia's imposed settlement in the Near East, was an outstanding example of their work. Less formal diplomatic methods were oftener used by the Great Powers in the international crises which, in the early years of the twentieth century, threatened with growing frequency the peace of Europe and the world.

International Law and Arbitration. The term "international law" had been used for several centuries to cover the principles generally accepted by the society of nations as those to which they should conform in their relations with one another in war and peace. It was not law in the same sense as the law of a state enforceable by the authority of its government. But hope was growing that it could similarly be made secure.

In the nineteenth century, disputes among nations were increasingly settled by arbitrators appointed by the parties concerned and instructed to reach a settlement either on the basis of law or in accordance with agreed terms of reference. A famous instance was the Geneva Arbitration (1872) which settled an Anglo-American controversy about certain Southern vessels fitted out in British ports during the Civil War, by awarding a large amount in damages to the United States. The cancelled cheque for the $15,500,000 paid for these *Alabama* claims was proudly hung in a frame on the wall of the Foreign Secretary's office in Downing Street. Before the end of the nineteenth century, many disputes over boundaries and other questions which formerly would have caused war were amicably settled by arbitration. Associated with growing interest in international law and arbitration was the growth of sentiment favouring reduction of armaments.

The Hague Conferences (1899 and 1907). The desire of governments and peoples to bring international relations more effectively under international law, and to increase the use of arbitration, found expression in the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907. These conferences did not succeed in agreeing to reduce armaments, but they did result in international conventions intended to mitigate the horrors of warfare, and set up an International Tribunal of Arbitration at the Hague, to make arbitration more widely effective in preventing war. Some important and long-standing controversies were settled before this tribunal.

Germany Strengthens her Position. The Triple Alliance (1882). Having created the German Empire by successful diplomacy and war, Bismarck realized that Germany's enjoyment of a peaceful era must depend upon isolating France and cementing German relations elsewhere. The rivalry of Russia and Austria in the Balkans made it hard for Bismarck to keep close relations with both countries so in 1879 he persuaded Austria to form a closer military alliance with Germany, by which each was to support the other in case of war with Russia, while Austria was to be neutral if war came between France and Germany. Italy, angered at France's new protectorate in Tunis, was persuaded to join the alliance, henceforth known as the Triple Alliance. By its terms, if France or any other power were to attack any of the Allies, the others would come to her defence.

R.G.T.

THE PEACE PALACE AT THE HAGUE
Completed in 1913. Home of the International Tribunal of Arbitration and later of the World Court.

France and Russia Draw Together. France began to feel dangerously isolated. She had been concentrating on internal consolidation and the extension of her empire in Africa and the East. The latter policy had led to friction with Italy, Britain, Germany and Russia. She could not hope for an alliance with Austria because of the solidarity of Austro-German relations. The sharpness of her colonial rivalries with Britain, and the latter's determination not to make European entanglements, precluded looking to Britain for strength. Hence France began to woo Russia by extensive loans which the latter badly needed. Her design was aided when William II took over the direction of German foreign policy and refused to maintain Bismarck's plan of close relations with Russia, relying instead solely on the Triple Alliance.

The internal policies of Russia and France were in great contrast, but their common external interests led to a treaty of alliance in 1894 by which, if either of them were attacked by Germany, the other would come to her aid. Around this alliance were to grow agreements and understandings with Britain, which led to the creation of the Triple Entente.

Britain and Germany. Alignment with France and Russia as the third member of the Triple Entente involved a reversal of Britain's attitude in European affairs at the turn of the century. In the 1870's and 1880's her attitude towards Germany was on the whole friendly and sympathetic. A strong Germany promised to be a salutary curb upon aggressive tendencies in France and Russia. She viewed German colonial expansion with complacency. Although German competition in world trade was becoming keen, Germany did not appear to threaten Britain's security. As late as 1890, Britain gave her the island of Heligoland, off the German coast, in return for German claims in Zanzibar, little guessing that in later years Heligoland would become a strong base for attack upon herself.

Britain and Germany thus seemed then about to draw into closer association with each other, but such possibility dwindled before long. William II's uncertain temper and personal hostility towards the English made diplomatic agreement difficult. But it was more significant that Germany's expansionist policies ceased to harmonize with British interest. Germany's growing influence in Austria-Hungary and her designs for economic and political penetration in Turkey and the lands beyond aroused British fears as to where those designs might eventually lead. Germany was already the greatest military power on the continent. When all the powers began to modernize their navies in the 1890's, Germany determined to lead the procession and win mastery of the seas. The balance of power in Europe and in the world was obviously becoming precarious.

Britain and the Balance of Power. "Balance of power" has sometimes been misrepresented as in itself necessarily evil and in itself a cause of war. Among nations as among individuals, if there is no authority capable of protecting the individual and guarding his independence, it becomes necessary, if any one of them grows too dominant, for others to combine in resistance. In that general sense the principle of the balance of power operates throughout human society and throughout the society of nations, and must always do so. It is historic fact that freedom in the European world has only been able to survive by resistance to absolute power; the ambition of any state to dominate the continent has always been a menace to the liberty of any part of it and to Britain close by.

Since her loss of Calais in 1558 Britain's interest in Europe has not been in any sense that of a continental power. It has not been determined by likes or dislikes for any particular people. Her only continuous enemy has been the insecurity of the European situation. She has intervened in Europe only when the balance seemed likely to be disturbed. Over and over again she has joined forces with those peoples who were resisting a power that was threatening to dominate the continent and thus menace her own freedom. That necessity of her existence lined her up successively against the Spain of Philip II, the France of Louis XIV and Napoleon, and the Germany of William II and Hitler.

Britain and Sea-power. The survival of British independence has required, in addition to the preservation of a balance against continental tyranny, the successful use of sea-power. The English learned as long ago as the days of Drake that, situated as their island is, off the busiest shores of Europe, defence cannot be limited to guarding her coasts and the adjacent waters. It depends also on keeping the seaways open to distant lands with which Britain must carry on continued intercourse if she is to live.

After the downfall of Napoleon, Great Britain was for many years undisputed mistress of the seas. She used her sea-power to suppress piracy, to fight the maritime slave trade, and to guard the seaways of the world for peaceful commerce. Her sea-power also aided her colonial expansion (indeed, her empire had grown through the centuries largely as a by-product of her need for wide-spread sea-power if her own shores were to be secure), but from the middle of the century onwards, trade in the colonies that she acquired was open equally to all peoples. The Pax Britannica made it possible, too, for new nations like the United States and the British dominions and the Latin-American republics to grow without fear of aggression from abroad, and thus to devote their attention to their own immediate concerns, taking their security largely for granted. Her island position had enabled Britain to build and preserve at home an enduring tradition of freedom, to plant its seeds in distant lands, and to provide security for their growth.

At the close of the nineteenth century, then, British sea-power constituted no threat to the security of any European nation, but any that challenged it became inevitably a threat to the survival of Britain.

These two foundations of Britain's security to live her own free life—the balance of power on the continent and the maintenance of adequate power on the seas—have meant historically that any continental despot seeking to dominate Europe found his most enduring and resistant obstacle in Britain. For that island kingdom, guarded from his armies by the moat of the narrow seas, was also able by her sea-power to muster the resources of other nations to meet his challenge, and to cut him off from overseas aid. Philip and Louis and Napoleon had found this so in the past. William II, like Napoleon, was inclined to despise his English cousins, so he, in turn, had to learn the same lesson.

Germany now appeared on the horizon, across the North Sea and on the shores of every ocean, as a power possessing the greatest military strength in Europe and openly challenging Britain's position on the seas. German success in attaining her ambitions would bring Europe and the Near East under her control and give her a continental centre from which to dominate the world. Britain, as the one European country which had been able to preserve unbroken its own security as a home of growing freedom, would be destroyed. It was with a sense of these things bred by centuries of experience in her island home that Britain began to readjust her own position to the changing European scene.

British Policy Re-aligned. Anglo-American Friendship. Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902). For many years Great Britain had refrained from alliances, priding herself on her "splendid isolation". For a long time, however, she had made it a cardinal principle of her policy to avoid another break with the United States, and to cultivate friendly political relations with that country with which she shared a common historical background, a common language and a common culture.

During the Spanish-American War, Britain alone among European powers showed open sympathy with the United States. That war was hardly over when she acquiesced in the American desire to build an American canal at Panama, and accepted a tribunal to settle the Alaska-Canadian boundary on the only terms on which an agreement to arbitrate was possible, although they prejudged the case in favour of the United States' position.

The Boer War was a disturbing revelation to Britain. Her army was neither large nor well prepared. The hostility of Germany was evident, and no nation showed much friendly feeling towards her. Her power seemed too widely scattered. Her "splendid isolation" was becoming lonely, notwithstanding the recent steps toward better understanding with the United States.

In 1902 she improved her position by making an alliance with Japan to protect each other's territories and interests in the East if either had to defend them against more than one power. Britain could then dispense with need for a large fleet in the Pacific. To Japan the treaty had value in assuring British neutrality and British aid in keeping the rest of Europe neutral in her coming struggle with Russia.

The Anglo-French Entente or Entente Cordiale (1904). The Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Franco-Russian Alliance combined to localize the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905), for, if France had gone to Russia's aid, Britain would have been bound to help Japan, and France did not want war with Britain. Some time before the war began, the French and British governments had begun to explore the possibility of an agreement on the many contentious matters which troubled their relations and in 1904 they arrived at satisfactory understandings concerning them.

William II now tried to build better relations with Russia at France's expense but without success. He decided to challenge directly France's influence in Morocco where the new Entente had given her a freer hand. The Kaiser therefore visited Tangier and formally paid his respects to the Sultan of Morocco, congratulating him on Moroccan independence. France objected, and Germany demanded an international conference. When this met in Algeciras (1906) German prestige received a blow, for Britain, Italy, Spain, the United States and Russia all supported the French position and agreed that France should take over the policing of Morocco, aided by Spain.

The Anglo-Russian Entente (1907). The Triple Entente. In the following year, Britain and Russia ironed out their conflicting interests in Asia, British priority of interest being recognized in Afghanistan, and their respective spheres of interest being marked out in Persia. As in the case of the Anglo-French Entente, the Anglo-Russian understanding included no terms of military alliance, but the three powers were obviously now in a position, with their grounds of difference removed, to act more easily together if need arose.

Growing Crises. Crisis followed crisis. The Austrian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908 angered Serbia and Russia, but Russia was in no position for war and, though she protested, had to acquiesce. In 1911 another crisis in Morocco arose when France objected to compensating Germany for French interest there by ceding territory in the Congo. Germany sent a gunboat to Agadir in Morocco as a demonstration and this time, since Russia would not back France up, though Britain was willing to do so, France yielded to Germany's demands in return for an acknowledgement of her own protectorate in Morocco.

Throughout these crises, and increasingly during the Italian-Turkish War and the Balkan Wars, the general peace of Europe was obviously in critical danger. Yet after the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913, some progress seemed to be made in ironing out the differences among the powers. In the hope of averting a break, Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign secretary, devoted himself to the task of mediating between the continental powers and reaching agreement with

Germany on outstanding issues. Certain colonial differences and controversies over spheres of influence were amicably settled, and in July, 1914, an agreement was reached regarding the Berlin to Bagdad railway.

The Armament Race. Meanwhile, all the powers met the growing peril of war by increasing their armaments at a rapid pace. Britain met Germany's increased naval expenditures, and put into practice the lessons of the Russo-Japanese war by building the first super-battleship, the *Dreadnought*, in 1905. Germany followed suit.

In 1908 Britain was prepared to decrease her building programme, but Von Tirpitz, head of the German admiralty, insisted on an enlarged programme for Germany, which was speeded up again after the Morocco Crisis of 1911. Haldane, the British Minister of War, was sent to Germany in the next year to try to reach an agreement for a "naval holiday", but Germany would agree to curtail her programme only if Britain would promise neutrality in a European war. She could make no such promise.

Great Britain already had a long-standing commitment to defend the neutrality of Belgium (The Treaty of London, 1839), and she had an understanding with France that the French fleet should guard their joint interests in the Mediterranean while the British fleet should do so in the Atlantic. In case of anticipated attack, they agreed to consult on common action to prevent aggression and preserve peace.

Sarajevo and War. On June 28, 1914, the Archduke Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, and his wife, were assassinated in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The assassin belonged to a Serbian secret and terrorist society. On July 23, Austria sent an ultimatum to Serbia. The latter agreed to some demands, but asked for a compromise on others. Austria considered the reply inadequate and on July 28 declared war.

Russia began to mobilize. When she refused to desist, Germany declared war on Russia on August 1, and, when France refused to pledge neutrality, declared war on her on August 3. On August 2, Germany had sent an ultimatum to Belgium demanding permission for German troops to cross into France. Belgium was pledged to resist violation of her neutrality and therefore refused permission. Germany nevertheless invaded Belgian soil. The British government sent an ultimatum to Germany on August 4 demanding that she respect Belgium's neutrality, of which she was one of the guarantors. When the British ambassador presented the ultimatum to the German Chancellor the latter was disappointed and outraged that Britain, at such a moment, could give so much importance to "a scrap of paper." At midnight Great Britain declared war. The beginning of this war brought to a culmination a generation of international rivalries and friction.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter the dates given in the text in your time chart under "International Relations" and "Wars".

2. What are the Nobel Prizes? How do they suggest a growing internationalism?

3. Suggest three ways in which the Russo-Japanese War affected international relations.

4. Suggest the reasons why Russia's interests led her to come to an understanding with her former rival Britain, and to become the enemy of her erstwhile ally, Germany.

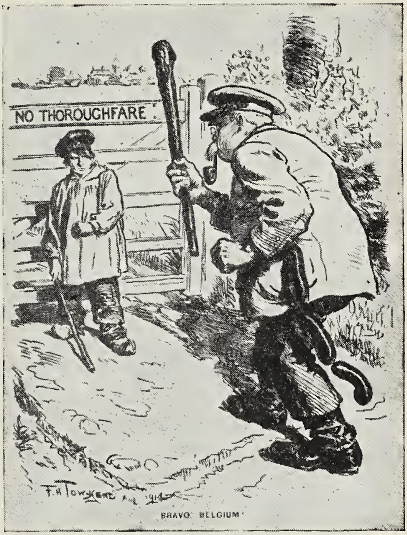
5. Write a brief sketch of the ambitions of each of the Balkan states and Turkey in 1914, and show how these ambitions determined which side they joined when war came.

6. Look up the Venezuela boundary controversy as illustrating (a) the Monroe Doctrine, (b) Britain's policy of peace with the United States, (c) arbitration as a method of settling international disputes.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE GREAT WAR OF 1914-1918

Belgium Invaded. Battle of the Marne. Germany knew that France expected her to strike through Lorraine. She hoped, by violating Belgian neutrality instead, to knock out France from the north before Russia could complete mobilization. Britain's small professional army hastened to Belgium to reinforce the defence. Allied resistance slowed down the German advance but by September 15 it was within fourteen miles of Paris. The advance was stopped in the first battle of the Marne, which compelled the Germans to draw back some distance. Before the end of 1914 they made a dash for the Channel ports, but while they gained control of the Belgian coast, British troops held them off from the French ports, which were invaluable

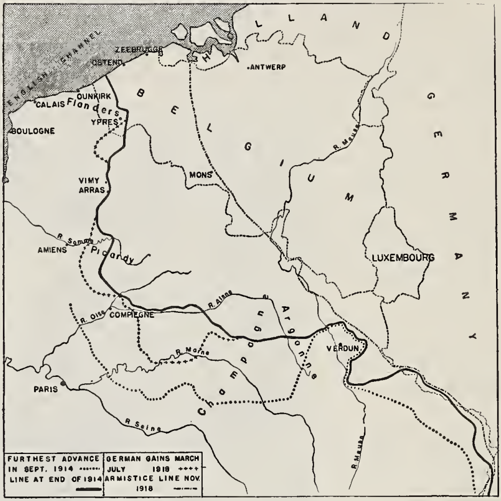


Punch

PUNCH'S TRIBUTE TO BELGIUM, AUGUST 1914

Little Belgium stands guard against the German bully for the supply of growing British armies on the continent and in German hands might have been made bases for attack on Britain.

The Eastern Front. On the Eastern Front the Russians attacked East Prussia with success until Hindenburg took over the command of enlarged German forces and defeated them at Tannenberg. Everywhere the Russians were hampered by appalling lack of arms and all kinds of supplies.


ENGLISH CHANNEL
HOLLAND
ZEEBRUGGE
OSTEND
ANTWERP
DUNKIRK
CALAIS
Flanders
YPRES
BOULOGNE
BELGIUM
GERMANY
R. Meuse
MONS
VIMY
ARRAS
R. Somme
AMIENS
Picardy
LUXEMBOURG
R. Aisne
R. Oise
COMPIEGNE
Argonne
VERDUN
R. Marne
Champagne
PARIS
R. Seine
R. Meuse
FURTHEST ADVANCE IN SEPT. 1914
LINE AT END OF 1914
GERMAN GAINS MARCH JULY 1918
ARMISTICE LINE NOV. 1918

THE WESTERN FRONT, 1914-1918

Turkey and Bulgaria Join the Central Powers. Turkish aid to Germany and the importance of getting supplies for Russia through to the Black Sea led Britain to plan a combined naval and land attack to seize the Straits. The attack began at Gallipoli in February, 1915, but delay in bringing up the land forces gave the Turks time to prepare and the attacking force suffered heavy casualties. The campaign collapsed late in the summer for lack of adequate reinforcements, which, however, could have been provided only by weakening the forces on the Western front. Russia remained isolated from her allies in the south, though some supplies reached her by Archangel.

Bulgaria joined the Central Powers in 1915, and with Austria and Germany speedily overran Serbia. Germany turned on the Russians in Poland and drove them back.

The Entente Allies Find Recruits. Japan declared war on Germany in August, 1914, and soon seized the German port of Kiao-chow. Thereafter she guarded allied interests in the western Pacific, and her navy also gave useful help in the Mediterranean.

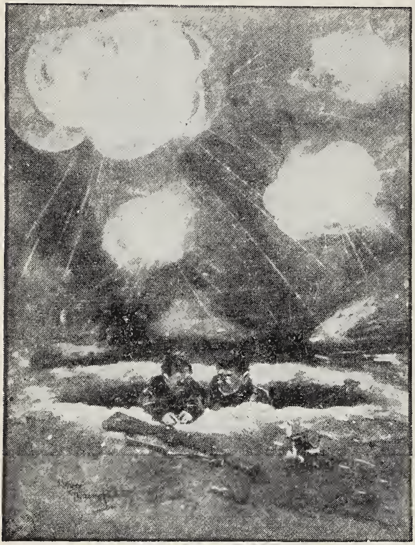
Italy, although a member of the Triple Alliance, had never lost her jealousy and fear of Austria. When war began she kept out, and after dickering with both sides she joined the Entente powers in May, 1915, on a promise of territorial gains in "Italia Irredenta" (the South Tyrol, Trieste and part of the Istrian coastline), and hope of enlarging her African colonies and sharing in the partition of Turkey. She at once launched an attack to gain Trieste but her forces were held off by the Austrians.

The Entente gained another associate, though with even less profit, when Roumania, in August 1916, decided to join them on the promise of getting Transylvania and Bukovina. Her troops were rapidly crushed. Roumania's resources of grain and oil and the use of her seaports passed to the Central Powers.

The Western Front in 1916. It had become obvious that the deadlock could not be broken without much greater use of artillery than had been contemplated at the beginning. There was some use of aeroplanes but they were still light and useful mainly for observation. As the war went on some bombing was done close to the front, and a little by the

Germans over southern England, and air combat between planes over the front lines became frequent.

Contrary to expectation, it had become clear early in the war that to ensure victory Britain's military contribution on the continent must be vastly increased not only in material but in manpower. Her new armies were raised for a time by voluntary enlistment but early in 1916 conscription was adopted for the first time in British history.



Bystander's "Fragments from France" (Punch)

"WELL, IF YOU KNOWS OF A BETTER 'OLE, GO TO IT."

Captain Bruce Bairnsfather's many cartoons of "Old Bill" and his pals reflected the wry humour with which the British "Tommies" endured the hardships of prolonged trench warfare on the Western Front.

On the Western front the year 1916 saw a renewed German offensive, centred on Verdun, with the object of breaking the power of France. The French, however, held their ground at terrific cost until the British under General Haig were able to stage an offensive on the Somme. Tanks were first used at the Somme by the British forces and helped in achieving a local gain. Then once again war on the Western front settled down to deadlock, principally still along the line of trenches where it had bogged down in the autumn of 1914.

Sea-power. Notwithstanding Britain's enlarged military contribution, more fundamental remained the importance of her power at sea. It took six months to clear the oceans of German commerce raiders. Several vessels of the German Pacific fleet managed to escape the Japanese, headed across the Pacific and sank a weaker British squadron at Coronel, but were themselves surprised and destroyed near the Falkland Islands.

The British main battle fleet was concentrated at Scapa Flow in the Orkneys, the German fleet in the Kiel Canal. Not till May, 1916, did the German battle fleet come out. When it did, it was successfully engaged by the British at the Battle of Jutland. The German fleet went back to the Kiel Canal and did not venture forth again till it came out to surrender at the end of the war.

The importance of sea-power in the war is not to be measured by the number of engagements between battleships or fleets, but by the success with which sea-power was used to keep communications open for the transportation of troops and the movement of supplies for the armed forces and the civilian population. The French and Italian navies played an effective part, chiefly in the Mediterranean. The British navy made possible the continued use by the Allies of the waters between the British Isles and the continent, and the shipping lanes of the Atlantic. German submarine warfare became a serious menace, but by patrols and convoys and the arming of merchant ships allied ocean traffic was maintained. The blockade of the Central Powers, also, was effective.

The Dominions and the Dependent Empire Contribute to Victory. A major disappointment to the Germans was the way in which the young nations and the dependent peoples of the British Empire rallied to Britain's side when war broke out. The First Canadian Contingent, thirty-three thousand men, steamed out of Gaspé Bay on October 3, 1914, escorted by six ships of the Royal Navy, in the largest convoy that had ever crossed the Atlantic. In February the First Division went to France where, at the second battle of Ypres, it faced the first German gas attack and held its ground. In time the Canadian forces grew to an army corps which became one of the spearheads of the British section of the attack when the tide turned.

YPRES, BELGIUM, IN 1918
A column of Canadian infantry, with their transport, passing through the ruins of Ypres.

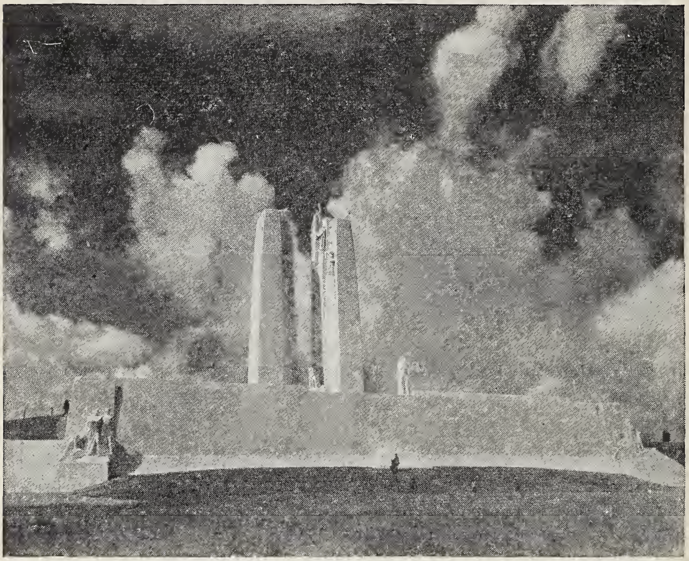
Australian and New Zealand forces served with distinction in the ill-fated Gallipoli campaign and later in various other theatres, though chiefly in the Middle East and on the Western Front, where Indian forces also played a conspicuous part. South African forces found their first duty in taking possession of German Southwest and German East Africa; in the latter success came only after hard campaigning. Later they served also in the Middle East. Many men from the Dominions and other parts of the Empire served in the Royal Flying Corps (later the Royal Air Force) and the other branches of the British services. Before the war was over the Empire had seven million men under arms, of whom a million were raised in India and a million in the Dominions and the colonies.

Dominion Status. The Imperial War Cabinet (1917). By 1917 the contributions from the Dominions and India brought a new conception of their relation to Great Britain. Sir Robert Borden, Canada's Prime Minister, had pressed for a larger voice for the Dominions in the conduct of the war. In that year the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, spoke of the Dominions as nations of equal status with the Mother Country, and members of their governments, with representatives of India, sat now not only in the Imperial Conference but in the Imperial War Cabinet. General Smuts of South Africa, who rendered brilliant service in Britain and elsewhere, coined a new and appropriate expression when he spoke in London in the same year of the "British Commonwealth of Nations".

Russian Collapse. The Bolshevik Revolution (1917). Russian losses in the war had been tremendous and she had suffered many reverses. Inefficiency, corruption, and lack of supplies had hampered the army. Czar Nicholas II had gone to join his troops and home affairs were unduly influenced by the reactionary Czarina and her advisers. Rumours of treason in high places spread and morale in the army was undermined.

In March, 1917, a bread riot broke out in St. Petersburg (later Petrograd and now Leningrad) which spread rapidly. The Czar was forced to abdicate and a provisional government of moderate liberals was set up. It failed to prevent anarchy spreading to the provinces and armies, and on November 7 the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin seized power. They began peace negotiations which were not completed until March, 1918, when Russia had to sign a treaty at Brest-Litovsk that wrested from her the countries of her Western border regions. It was a hard peace, but she was defeated in the field and broken internally, and her new government was more intent on its revolutionary programme than on trying to stay in the war.

With Russia out of the war, Germany could in time shift her forces from the Russian front and concentrate them on the Western front. Thus she was able to block both French and British attempts to break through the German lines, notwithstanding some conspicuous local successes such as that of the Canadians at Vimy in April, 1917.



THE VIMY MEMORIAL

Unveiled in 1936, this monument on Vimy Ridge, by the Canadian sculptor, W. S Allward, commemorates the deeds and sacrifices of half a million Canadians who served overseas from 1914 to 1919.

The United States Declares War, Making the Struggle a "World War", April 1917. In the early stages of the war President Wilson urged the people of the United States to be neutral both in thought and act. Yet sympathy with the Western democracies was widespread. It was assumed, however, that Britain and her allies were bound to win. Germany's submarine warfare involved the loss of American lives, through the sinking of merchant shipping on sight without giving crew or passengers opportunity to take to the boats. As such sinkings continued, the American government sent stronger and stronger notes of protest to the German government.

In January, 1917, Germany announced a policy of unrestricted submarine warfare—all merchant shipping, whatever its nationality, was to be sunk on sight in the waters surrounding the British Isles. Feeling ran high in the United States. Wilson severed diplomatic relations as he had warned he would do and soon directed the arming of merchant ships. Nevertheless a number of American ships were sunk. The submarine warfare was now, indeed, becoming so effective as to endanger Britain's ability to keep her seaways open, which she must do if she was to escape disaster. Her own people, although on short rations, were continuing to respond magnificently to the demands of the war, not only in the armed forces but in civilian morale and in production. Yet with Russia in revolution and obviously falling out of the war, Germany could by and by throw greater pressure against the Western Front. There was growing but by no means general appreciation of the fact that a German victory would imperil the security of the United States, who could not afford to risk Britain being destroyed as a power, nor contemplate with comfort the possibility of France's defeat.

In March there was published a secret telegram from Zimmerman, the German Foreign Minister, to the German Minister to Mexico, instructing him to propose a German-Mexican alliance, with the promise that at the end of the war Mexico would recover Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. It convinced the man in the street that the war was America's war. On April 6, at Wilson's request, Congress declared war.

The United States fleet was ready for immediate service and went into action in combination with the British fleet. A large army, however, could not be ready for moving across the Atlantic for many months. A token division soon went, and by the spring of 1918 large United States forces were crossing the ocean, though they were dependent for some of their equipment on Britain and France, notably in artillery and airplanes. Beginnings were made at manufacturing military planes, but till the end of the war American flyers in Europe flew no planes of American manufacture.

Great German Offensive in the West Thrown Back. In 1918 the Germans began an offensive in the West, hoping to break through the allied defences before they could be reinforced by large numbers of Americans. The Allies now established a unified command on the Western Front under Marshal Foch. Britain rushed across the Channel large forces which had been held in reserve against a possible invasion of England.

The third blow of the German offensive reached the Marne Valley. Several American divisions were now ready for the active line. (The first American regular division had already proved its mettle.) The Germans, though held again for a time, managed in July to cross the Marne. But at last the Allies were ready for more than defence. In the second battle of the Marne they launched their counter-offensive, maintained by forces of Britain and the Commonwealth in Flanders and Picardy, the French along the Aisne and in Champagne, the Americans on the Meuse River and in the Argonne. Gradually the Germans were driven back, fighting every foot of the way.

Collapse of the Central Powers. In the Middle East, after grave initial defeats, the British and Indian Army had gradually worked north from the Persian Gulf and taken Bagdad from the Turks early in 1917. The Arabs revolted against Turkish rule. A British force under General Allenby, driving up from Egypt, pushed the Turks northward until Jerusalem, Damascus and Aleppo were freed in what Allenby called "the last Crusade". In October, 1918, Turkey agreed to an armistice. By that time the Allies had freed Greece and Serbia and forced Bulgaria out of the war. Austria, although successful against the Italians earlier, met disaster in the summer of 1918 when her army, cut off by floods, was badly defeated. In the autumn, with the Central Powers collapsing, the minority races in Austria-Hungary saw their opportunity and rose against Hapsburg domination. Austria was forced to sign an armistice.

Defeat in the field had thrown Germany into confusion. Socialist revolt was breaking out. There was mutiny in the navy. The Kaiser sought an armistice through President Wilson. After some correspondence the German government was referred to Marshal Foch. On November 11 an armistice was signed in a railway car in the old royal forest of Compiègne. On the previous day the Kaiser had fled to Holland and a republic had been declared. The armistice required Germany, while permanent terms of peace were being settled, to withdraw all her armies, surrender much of her fleet, and disarm the rest.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter the dates given in the text in your time chart under "International Relations" and "Wars".

2. Why was the British Expeditionary Force which was sent to Belgium in 1914 called "The Old Contemptibles"? Look up its exploits.

3. What contributions were made by the Dominions and India to the Allied cause in the First World War?

4. Find out what you can about the methods that were used against enemy submarines in the War of 1914-1918.

CHAPTER XXVIII

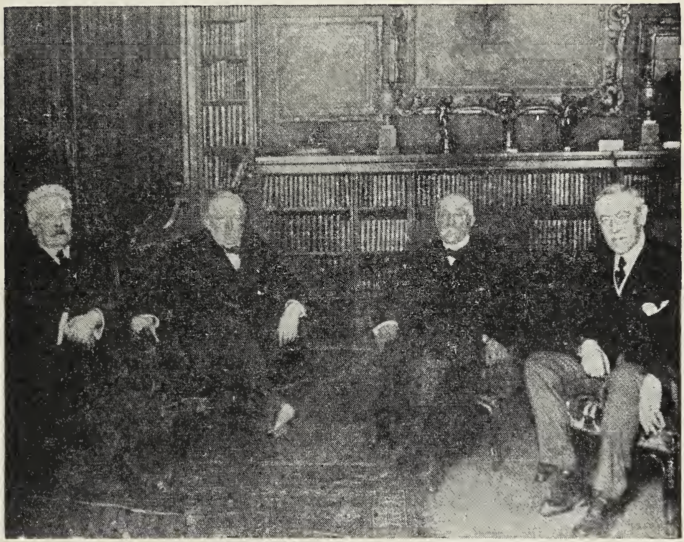
THE NEW MAP OF THE WORLD (1919-1923)

The Paris Peace Conference (1919-1920). The armistice with Germany on November 11, 1918, marked the termination of hostilities with the last of the enemy powers. The details of the peace settlement still had to be worked out. For this purpose a Peace Conference convened in Paris in January, 1919, comprising representatives of the Allied nations, to prepare terms of peace to be presented to their defeated foes.

The major powers concerned were France, Britain, the United States, Italy and Japan. Occasionally the Conference met in plenary session including the delegations of all the lesser Allied powers, among whom were the British Dominions and India. The various problems were studied in detail by commissions. Major decisions involving policy really rested at first with the Council of Ten, representing the Big Five, then with the Big Four, Japan having dropped out, and, in the end, with the French Premier, Clemenceau, the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, and President Woodrow Wilson of the United States.

War Aims of the Allies (January, 1917). In January, 1917, prior to the United States declaration of war, President Wilson had asked the belligerent governments to state their war aims. The Germans did not do so, but the Allied powers declared "their wholehearted agreement with the proposal to create a league of nations which shall assure peace and justice throughout the world", and they demanded "the restoration of Belgium, of Serbia and of Montenegro, with the compensations due to them", the liberation of the racial minorities in

Austria-Hungary, and the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France. Their aim was a stable European settlement, based on the principle of nationality and on "territorial agreements and international arrangements so framed as to guarantee land and sea frontiers against unjust attacks."



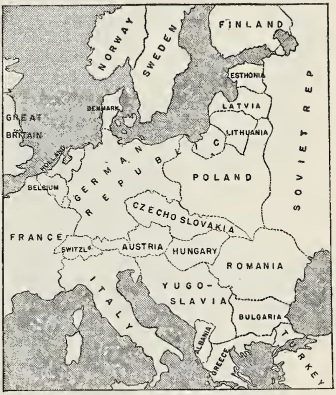
Wide World Photos from Wheeler

THE "BIG FOUR" AT THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE
Left to right: Orlando of Italy, Lloyd George of Great Britain, Clemenceau of France, Wilson of the United States.

President Wilson's "Fourteen Points" (January, 1918). A year later President Wilson announced his own conception of war aims in an address to Congress in which he mentioned "Fourteen Points" upon which he considered peace should be based. As the United States did not consider itself one of the Allies and preferred the term "associated power", it was natural that President Wilson should put forward his country's war aims independently. His proposals were mainly a restatement of the war aims announced by the Allies. But he placed even greater stress on self-determination, the right of each nationality to determine its own political future. Among other points he stressed the desirability of "open diplomacy" (by which he meant that treaties should not be kept secret), and of "freedom of the seas".

The Allies and the "Fourteen Points". In their preliminary discussion of armistice terms the Germans wanted a promise that the peace would be based on these "fourteen points" and Wilson's subsequent speeches. The Allies were in agreement on most points, but insisted on certain qualifications. "Freedom of the seas", for example, was a phrase capable of diverse meanings. It meant one thing to Americans, who had claimed that the neutral rights for which they had contended, prior to their own entry into the war but not afterwards, were involved in freedom of the seas. It meant another thing to the British, who had established and long maintained the freedom of the seas from piracy and the slave trade and in time of peace for all lawful commerce. Moreover, in settling finally the Italian frontiers, the Western powers held that the promises which they had made Italy while the United States was still neutral must be deemed valid. The Allies also held that Germany should not only restore conquered territory, but should make compensation "for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea and from the air". The vagueness of some of the "fourteen points" and the impracticability of others (such as settling the boundaries in the Balkans "along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality") made it impossible to draw up peace terms which all parties would deem consistent with them.

The Treaty of Versailles (1919). The first treaty was that with Germany. On June 28, 1919, it was signed in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles where, during the Franco-Prussian War, the German Empire had been proclaimed. By this Treaty of Versailles France regained Alsace-Lorraine, Belgium was enlarged by three counties, and a plebiscite was to be held in Schleswig (by which Denmark gained North Schleswig). France was to control the Saar Valley to compensate her for the German destruction of her own coal mines. After fifteen years a plebiscite was to be held, and if it returned the region to Germany she was to repurchase the mines. The west bank of the Rhine was to be under military occupation for some years. A demilitarized zone was established east of the Rhine. Poland was to be re-established as an independent state, including also Upper Silesia and a corridor to the Baltic, while the city of Danzig was to be a free city under League administration.

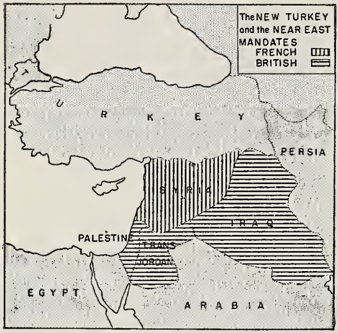

NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
ESTHONIA
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
SOVIET REP
DENMARK
GREAT BRITAIN
HOLLAND
BELGIUM
GERMAN REPUBLIC
C
POLAND
CZECHO SLOVAKIA
FRANCE
SWITZL'D.
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
ROMANIA
YUGO-SLAVIA
ITALY
ALBANIA
BULGARIA
GREECE
TURKEY

NEW BOUNDARIES IN EUROPE, 1919-1923

Germany was to lose all of her colonies, which were entrusted to allied nations as mandated territories under League supervision. Her army was to be reduced to 100,000 men, and her navy largely destroyed. She was to abandon military and naval aviation. She had to admit responsibility for the war, replace damage to merchant shipping, rebuild devastated areas in France, and agree to pay reparations.

A covenant was included in the treaty to provide for a League of Nations and a World Court. A separate Convention provided for an International Labour Organization.

Other Treaties. A separate treaty was made with each of Germany's allies. Austria became a small inland state and was expressly forbidden union with Germany unless with League consent. Like Austria, Hungary was reduced to a tiny inland country. The Dardanelles and Bosphorus straits were to be internationalized and demilitarized. At the end of a new war between Turkey and Greece a new treaty was signed by Turkey in July, 1923, the Treaty of Lausanne. By it her European boundary was restored to that of 1914 and she regained Smyrna and some of the Aegean islands but her former Asiatic territories beyond Asia Minor were not restored. An exchange was to be made of Greek Christians from Asia Minor with Turks in Greece. Turkey consented to freedom of traffic in the Straits and their demilitarization.



NEW BOUNDARIES IN THE NEAR EAST, 1923

The German treaties with Russia and Roumania had been cancelled but Poland and the Baltic states of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania which Germany had wrested from Russia were to be independent. With these and with the other states which had recently been created or enlarged the Allied Powers made treaties providing, among other matters, guarantees of the civil and religious liberty of minorities.

The Verdict on the Peace of Paris. No one claimed that the treaties were perfect. It was hoped, however, by embodying in all of them the Covenant of the League of Nations that adequate provision was being made for such readjustments by international action as might be appropriate and might be needed later. The fact that the League of Nations failed of acceptance by the United States and thus was crippled from the start as an instrument for such a purpose, could not be known or taken into account when the terms of peace were settled. The terms of settlement were inevitably the result of compromise of many divergent interests among the Allies, but they reflected also an effort to provide a security in which the world could be free to move forward.

The break-up of Austria-Hungary had some unfortunate results. In accepting self-determination as the guiding principle in the region of the Danube and the Balkans, the peace settlement sanctioned the erection of national barriers which, by leading to new economic barriers, contributed greatly to the disorganization of the European economy. But it had given to all the peoples of the region, except the German Austrians and the Magyars of Hungary, what they wanted in the way of national self-determination, as nearly as was possible in view of their conflicting claims. The Treaty of Versailles, however, did not impose so hard a peace on Germany. In fact it was remarkably mild as compared with that which Germany had recently imposed upon Russia.

In the post-war years, nevertheless, the Germans managed to convince themselves and many people outside their borders that they had been grossly mistreated. They resented the clause in the treaty asserting German responsibility for the war. It is true that in a broad sense the war was evidence of a failure of civilization to achieve man's highest hopes, a failure in which all nations were involved, but the Germans did not in the end improve their own position by charging that Germany was simply the victim of aggression. The "war guilt clause" may have been unwise in that it provided them with a formal ground of grievance. Wilson's "fourteen points" also lent themselves, as we have seen, to twisted interpretation. These things they used to support their real grievance, which was that they had lost the war. In denying the reality of their defeat they built a myth about the war and a myth about the peace. They would have done so had there been no "war guilt clause" and had the terms of the Treaty of Versailles been much milder than they were.

By these myths the Germans convinced themselves, and led many others to believe, that the German armed forces on land and sea had not been defeated but that the nation had been betrayed from within, and that in refusing to give Germany a peace without restrictions and without penalties her enemies had betrayed her. Unfortunately even some historians in other lands lent themselves to this propaganda.

If the peace was faulty, it was not in being "too hard" on Germany, but in placing difficulties in the way of economic recovery and advance and in the way of international security by the territorial settlements and by the methods by which it was proposed that the defeated nations should be made to pay compensation.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter the dates given in the text in your time chart under "International Relations".

2. Wilson's "point" on "freedom of the seas" upheld "Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants." Explain Britain's unwillingness as a maritime power to accept such a position. After the United States entered the war why did her policy and conduct towards neutral commerce conform to the British view and not to her own theoretical position?

3. Why did France stress security at the Peace Conference?

CHAPTER XXIX

Attempting to Organize World Peace

How the League of Nations Came To Be. After war came in 1914, the problem of collective security was studied by such leaders as Lord Robert Cecil in England, ex-President Taft in the United States, and Léon Bourgeois of France, and efforts were made to arouse public opinion concerning it. General Smuts of South Africa made important contributions to the growth of the League idea. At the Peace Conference President Wilson was the chief spokesman for those who believed that founding a League of Nations was its most important task.

Membership of the League. The Covenant of the League was embodied in the Treaty of Versailles and in other Treaties that were part of the general peace settlement. The United States did not become a member, the Senate failing to ratify the Treaty of Versailles by the two-thirds vote required by the Constitution. (The vote was 49 to 35.) Several powers which were excluded from the League at its beginning were admitted during the following years, Germany in 1926, Turkey in 1932 and Russia in 1934.

What the League of Nations Was. The Covenant of the League provided for an Assembly, a Council, and a Secretariat, and for the later establishment of an International Court of Justice. In the Assembly each member nation was allowed one vote. It met regularly once a year in Geneva.

In the Council permanent representation was to be enjoyed by the Great Powers (at first only Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States, the last of which did not, however, join the League). Germany and Russia, when later they became members of the League, were also given permanent seats in the Council. The other members of the Council represented smaller nations, chosen for a three-year term by vote of the Assembly. The Council could be summoned to meet at any time, in any convenient place, to decide matters requiring attention. The Secretariat was a permanent full-time staff. It was to accumulate and study information on many subjects from all parts of the world.

Wide World from Wheeler

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS PALACE AT GENEVA

Erected by the League as its permanent headquarters, the vast Palace, of which the central building is shown here, is a striking example of modern architecture.

The Permanent Court of International Justice was set up at the Hague in 1921. Its fifteen judges were appointed for nine years by the Assembly and the Council. It was to decide international controversies brought before it involving international law or treaty obligations, and was to give advisory opinions on legal questions when requested by Council or Assembly.

The International Labour Organization. The Treaties provided for an International Labour Organization to promote fair conditions for labour throughout the world. The United States joined it in 1934 though not a member of the League. In the Conference each state had four delegates, chosen one by labour, one by employers, and two by government. The Conference might adopt recommendations concerning desirable principles of labour legislation or draft conventions embodying detailed proposals for legislation. Member states were under obligation to bring both the recommendations and the draft conventions before their legislatures for consideration.

What the League Tried To Do. The main purpose of the League was to prevent war. Any member might call to the attention of the "Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends". Members agreed to submit their own differences to arbitration or to judicial settlement or to lay them before the Council. They promised not to make war against a state accepting the result of such a submission, and in no case within three months of the announcement of the result. Any state going to war in violation of the Covenant was to be liable to economic sanctions imposing restrictions on its trade or financial relations. If necessary the Council might further recommend the use of armed forces by the governments concerned.

The League not only tried to prevent war in such ways, it sought also in humanitarian spirit to promote economic and social welfare wherever possible and thus remove some of the causes of war. If only hardship could give way to comfort, poverty to plenty, personal insecurity to security, distrust of one's fellow man to confidence in his goodwill, might not nations be less inclined to go to war? It was with this ideal that the League encouraged the International Red Cross to expand its organization, and that the work of the International Labour Organization was carried on.

What the League Accomplished. In remembering that war came in spite of all the League tried to do to prevent it, people sometimes forget the things that the League accomplished. Many of these were not spectacular and yet had great importance, for example, its work for control of international traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs, and for the prevention and control of disease. The League's studies of nutrition led to important measures in many countries, including our own, for the promotion of public health through better diet. In various ways the League enlarged understanding among nations through the contacts of their representatives and the increased knowledge of world conditions that its work brought about. Both the League and the I.L.O. published many important results of their studies which influenced policies in many countries. One of the important duties of the League was to review the administration of mandated territories and internationalized areas.

Perhaps the greatest single economic accomplishment of the League was its restoration of the national economies of Austria and Hungary to solvency after the terrible period of inflation which those countries suffered immediately following the war.

The League and Collective Security. There were some occasions when the settlement of international differences according to the provisions of the Covenant prevented war. But the League failed to assert its authority adequately in disputes involving major issues in which great powers were concerned. This had several causes. At all times the League lacked the membership of at least two great powers. Among the great powers which joined it at its beginning only Britain and France did not withdraw prior to the Second World War. Member nations, lacking confidence in it under these circumstances, weakened its force by reservations with regard to the obligations under certain articles of the Covenant. League failures to enforce collective security became more serious as time passed.

After the Japanese invaded Manchuria in 1931, wrested it from China and set up a puppet government, the League published a report condemning the action. But Japan had already accomplished her purpose and in answer withdrew from the League in 1932. Force was not available to back up the position of the League. It was a time of depression and economic distress throughout the world, and nations were more concerned about internal than external security. Great Britain, the only League power with force at her disposal in the East, might have been able to bring Japan into line if she had had the guarantee of material assistance from the United States. But the latter, while deploring Japan's action and refusing to recognize the existence of the new republic of Manchukuo, would not commit herself to following up protests by armed action should need arise.

It was a further blow to the League when Hitler cancelled Germany's membership in 1933. The last and greatest blow to its prestige came in 1935-1936 when Italy attacked Abyssinia. The League then decided that economic sanctions should be imposed, and this was done at considerable cost to the countries concerned, whose own trade suffered by their sanctions against Italy. But when Italy threatened to consider it an act involving war if an oil embargo were added the nations were unable to agree to push the matter further. Italy continued her conquest and withdrew from the League.

Although the League was still performing important international services and the Assembly and Council continued to meet regularly, by now only three great powers, Britain, France and Russia, remained members. Germany, Japan, and Italy had defied it and obviously intended to continue on a path of aggression. The League had narrowed to an alliance of peaceful powers. It could not avert the impending world war.

Yet, in addition to its constructive accomplishments in other fields, the League had furnished a useful lesson in the conditions needed for collective security. The history of the

League proved that it is not enough to desire security and that effort and sacrifice are necessary to obtain it. A far-sighted view is needed and willingness to make sacrifices in the present to ensure future security. In matters of security, even more than in matters of trade and commerce, the welfare of one nation is inevitably dependent upon that of others. Support of collective security is in the truest self-interest of any nation desiring peace.

The Abortive Treaty to Guarantee French Security (1919). The League would have had a better chance to grow into a useful instrument of collective security if the nations had felt more secure while the League's experiment was beginning. The need of immediate security based on more specific commitments was recognized at the Peace Conference in 1919 when a tri-partite treaty of guarantee was signed by Britain and the United States pledging them to go at once to France's aid if Germany violated the French frontier. This provision for quick and effective action against the most obvious threat to peace failed, however, when the American Senate refused to ratify it and Britain therefore felt she could not do so alone.

This collapse of the guarantee of her security was a great blow to France. She had given up her insistence on a Rhine frontier for the promise of the Anglo-American guarantee, and when it lapsed she felt justifiably doubtful about the value of collective security and turned to bilateral agreements to build up her security where she could.

The Locarno Pact (1925). In the following years several attempts were made in Europe to establish confidence in security by special pacts of mutual assistance against aggression. These failed till at Locarno in 1925 the permanence of the Franco-German-Belgian border was guaranteed while leaving Germany free to seek peaceful revision of her eastern border. Britain and Italy pledged aid against any of the three who violated the pact. It now looked as if by-gones were to be by-gones and the peace of Europe was at last secure. Germany was taken into the League. There followed a period of optimism among statesmen, who hoped that, with the peace of Europe reasonably guaranteed, further steps could be taken towards establishing world peace on firm foundations.

The Briand-Kellogg Pact or Pact of Paris (1928). Some way was needed to associate the League with nations outside it, particularly the United States, in a common front against war. The French foreign minister, Aristide Briand, suggested to Frank Kellogg, American Secretary of State, that the nations of the world sign an agreement "to outlaw war". Briand realized that such an agreement would be worthless unless supported by positive action. The original proposal was that any nation which resorted to war should be outlawed and consequently liable to punishment by signatories of the agreement. But Kellogg, abhorring the idea that force would ever be necessary again, refused to pledge its use against aggression and insisted that the nations which signed the agreement should be bound only by their own "good faith" to keep it. Briand yielded reluctantly and in the resulting Briand-Kellogg Pact the signatories merely pledged not to resort to war as an instrument of national policy. It was signed by many nations in August 1928.

The pact was heralded as a great forward step. It would have been so had it included acceptance of responsibility to enforce it with arms. Actually it did nothing effective to outlaw war, but in reality encouraged those nations who intended to use war to go ahead. Aggressors could be more confident than before that the nations which had signed it would hesitate to use force to stop them, since it provided moral justification for holding aloof from any situation where the use of force was imminent. Instead of bringing the United States into a common front against aggressive war it increased the respectability of isolationism.

The Problem of Disarmament. An evidence of a continued feeling of insecurity was the growth of armaments at an ever faster pace in the years prior to the Second World War. The ideal of the League was to reduce armaments to a point "consistent with national safety". In the absence of satisfactory commitments for the collective use of national armaments to resist aggression, each nation, and especially any so exposed as France or Poland, had to think of security as an individual rather than a collective problem.

Conferences on Naval Armaments. A measure of naval disarmament was agreed upon at the Washington Conference in 1921-22, which also dealt with problems threatening the peace of the Pacific. The ratio of capital ship tonnages allowed to each of the great powers was fixed: Great Britain and the United States 5, Japan 3, France and Italy 1.67. In view of the widely scattered maritime interests of Great Britain and the United States, Japan's allowance gave her naval security in an extensive area of the western Pacific. This agreement really achieved less than might appear because the ratios were fixed only on capital ships and there was no limit placed on lighter surface craft or on submarines. Further conferences on naval disarmament were held but little more in the way of effective limitation was achieved. Japan, being refused naval parity, adopted independent action in 1937.

The Geneva Disarmament Conference (1932). Attempts to limit land forces also failed. A League Commission to study the problem of disarmament had been set up in 1925, but had been unable to disentangle the web of technical and political difficulties. The Disarmament Conference met at Geneva in 1932, but was unable to come to any agreement. The conflicting desires for security of France and Germany, each at the other's expense, contributed to the failure. In 1933, Hitler withdrew Germany from the Conference. He rearmed Germany openly despite the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles which had limited German military strength. In 1934 Great Britain accepted as a fact the failure of the Conference and announced that she would enlarge her own forces which she had reduced drastically after the war.

The Failure of Attempts at Collective Security. Thus attempts to reduce both the naval and the military strength of nations failed little more than fifteen years after the end of the Great War. Meanwhile, hope that the League of Nations might become a mediator of major disputes and an effective foe of aggression was sinking in the shadow of Manchuria and Abyssinia. If the League disappeared, each nation must look for security to its individual might, supplemented of necessity by alliances made on the old basis of balance of power.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter the dates given in the text in your time chart under "International Relations".

2. One of Canada's delegates to the League of Nations, in explaining the reluctance of Canada to take a more positive position in the Assembly, said that Canada was fortunate in living in "a fireproof house" far from the international danger zone. Show how the history of recent years has proved the shallowness of such a view.

3. Suggest ways in which modern improvements in transportation changed the problem of national security between 1914 and 1939.

CHAPTER XXX

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH SINCE 1914

The Dominions and Britain are Recognized as a Commonwealth of Nations (1917). We have already traced the growth of colonial self-government from its beginnings in the infant colony of Virginia to the formation of the self-governing dominions. In 1914, however, these had not yet assumed responsibilities in defence or in the conduct of foreign affairs such as to give them international standing as nations. In 1917, as we have seen, the British Prime Minister recognized the dominions as nations of equal status with the Mother Country and General Smuts coined the new phrase, British Commonwealth of Nations.

The Imperial War Cabinet (1917). The dominions' part in the war won them more than verbal recognition of larger status. Sitting in the Imperial War Cabinet in London from 1917 the Prime Ministers or other members of the dominion governments shared in shaping the war policy of the Empire. This was not a cabinet in the full British usage of the word, for its members were not responsible to one parliament but each was responsible to the parliament of which he himself was a member. The device was useful during the war but afterwards other methods of consultation replaced it.

The British Empire Delegation at Paris and Geneva. The Peace Conference at Paris recognized the dominions' new status in the wider family of nations. Their request to be represented at the Conference was supported by the British Government, and after President Wilson had been persuaded to assent other nations soon followed. They were members of the Conference as small nations. Also, as members of the British

Empire delegation, dominion statesmen sometimes represented that delegation in discussions among the big powers. The representatives of the dominions signed the peace treaties on behalf of their respective nations and the treaties were formally ratified by the King on behalf of the whole Empire only after they had been accepted by the dominions as well as by Great Britain.

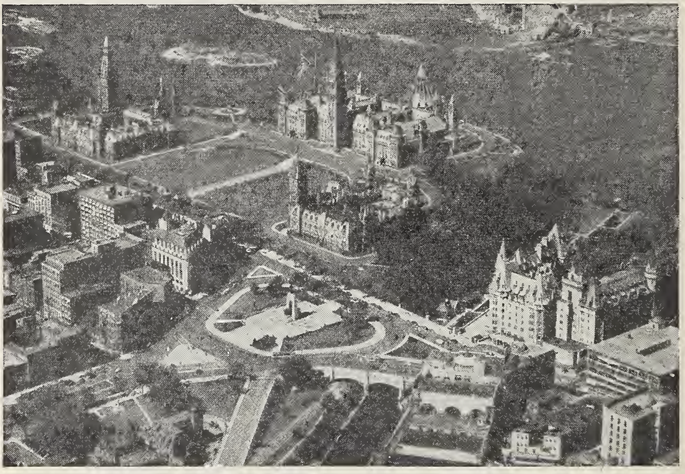
In the Covenant of the League of Nations the dominions were named as charter members of the League. As small powers they were eligible for elective seats on the Council. At Geneva the representatives of the Commonwealth countries frequently consulted together on matters of common interest, as they had done in the British Empire Delegation at Paris, but they did not necessarily vote together, and indeed sometimes opposed one another in the League Assembly.

Imperial Conferences of 1921 and 1923. During the war it was expected that after it was over new constitutional arrangements would be shaped at an imperial conference. But at the Conference of 1921 the dominions were more intent to emphasize the independence of their national positions than to devise new imperial machinery, and felt that existing facilities for consultation and collaboration were satisfactory.

The possible influence of dominion views on British policy was illustrated at this Conference when the Canadian delegation persuaded the British government as well as most of the dominion representatives that the Anglo-Japanese alliance had outlived its usefulness in view of the difficulties it was creating in relations between Britain and the United States. Abrogation of the alliance paved the way for the Washington Conference on Naval Disarmament to deal with affairs in the Far East. The Chanak incident in 1923 was another instance of dominion influence on British policy. The British Government asked the dominions for their views with regard to difficulties that had arisen in relations with Turkey. The

Canadian government was unwilling to support a policy that might mean war. Partly in consequence of this a new international settlement was made with Turkey, the Treaty of Lausanne.

In 1923 the Canadian Government negotiated and signed a fisheries treaty with the United States without any participation by the British Ambassador in Washington. This procedure was endorsed at the Imperial Conference which met shortly afterwards. The Locarno Pact (1925) expressly excepted the dominions from its obligations unless they should individually decide to adhere to it.



OTTAWA, CANADA'S CAPITAL, FROM THE AIR

Of the three blocks of Parliament Buildings on Parliament Hill the central building, containing the House of Commons and the Senate Chamber, was rebuilt following a fire in 1916. The National War Memorial, in the foreground, was unveiled by His Majesty, King George VI, during his visit in 1939. The Rideau Canal passes under the plaza between the monument and the railway station and drops by a series of locks, which are partly hidden by the Chateau Laurier Hotel, to the Ottawa river at the foot of Parliament Hill.

At the Imperial Conference of 1923 for the first time there was an Irish delegation, when members of the government of Eire, established in accordance with the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921, took their place. The Treaty had accorded the Irish Free State the same status as Canada, which included a recognized right to send a diplomatic representative to Washington. Eire exercised this right in 1924, Canada followed suit in 1926 and other Dominions in due course. Thus precedent was set for the independent diplomatic services of the Dominions established in later years, particularly after the beginning of the Second World War.

The Imperial Conference of 1926. The most famous of the postwar Imperial Conferences was that of 1926. Conflicting views about the nature of the relationship among the members of the Commonwealth were causing serious controversy in South Africa, in Eire and in lesser degree in other dominions. The Conference appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Lord Balfour, whose *Report* clarified the situation by defining the relations between Great Britain and the dominions as follows:

> They are autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

In elaboration of this statement it was further pointed out that:

> No account, however accurate, of the negative relations in which Great Britain and the Dominions stand to each other can do more than express a portion of the truth. The British Empire is not founded upon negations. It depends essentially, if not formally, on positive ideals. Free institutions are its life-blood. Free co-operation is its instrument. Peace, security, and progress are among its objects. . . . And, though every Dominion is now, and must always remain, the

sole judge of the nature and extent of its co-operation, no common cause will, in our opinion, be thereby imperilled.

The Statute of Westminster (1931). After further study by a special committee the Imperial Conference of 1930 agreed to ask the British Parliament to pass an Act, when the dominions had approved its terms, which should define the legal side of relations within the Commonwealth. Parliament passed it in 1931 as the Statute of Westminster. A dominion could henceforth pass laws in conflict with British legislation. The national status of the dominions was made clear in law by declaring their legislative independence from the British Parliament except in certain formal matters where they themselves had asked that the latter should continue to function for them. Decision as to any later modification on these points would rest with each dominion concerned. Henceforth the dominions were not to be styled colonies, and the term Commonwealth received legal recognition. The Statute gave formal expression to a status that had been recognized much earlier and was already established in custom.

South Africa followed up the Statute in 1934 by passing a Status of South Africa Act, formally declaring the sovereign independence of South Africa within the Commonwealth. Eire went further and adopted a new constitution, some of whose features were inconsistent with the treaty of 1921, but were now held to be within her right by virtue of the Statute of Westminster. In the new constitution of Eire the Crown was done away with so far as internal affairs were concerned, though it remained a part of the formal constitution in relation to the conduct of external affairs.

Economic Relations. The Ottawa Conference (1932). Worldwide depression in 1929 stimulated economic nationalism in all countries. A Commonwealth Economic Conference met at Ottawa. No general agreement resulted, but each country made separate agreements with each of the others, each bargaining on the basis of its independent interest. Further evidence that this was no closed system came in 1935 when Canada negotiated a trade agreement with the United States involving some modifications of her own Ottawa Agreements.

Consultation and Responsibility in the Commonwealth. The Dominions Face War. During the 1920's when "Dominion Status" was in process of clarification, emphasis in the dominions was rather upon completing the definition of their national position than upon taking a responsible part in either Commonwealth or League of Nations affairs.

The channels of consultation among the governments of the Commonwealth were not, however, abandoned, and were indeed improved. Ever since the war, information on external affairs had been regularly exchanged. This exchange no longer took place as formerly through the Governors-General, for after 1926 they became solely the personal representatives of the King and no longer of the British government. The latter appointed High Commissioners as its agents in each dominion capital to perform there functions such as the High Commissioners of the dominions had long performed in London. The Dominions' Office in Great Britain and the Departments of External Affairs in the dominions were thus in regular and direct communication. The prime ministers also dealt with one another directly, as they had done since the war, by letter, cable or, after the later 1920's, by trans-oceanic telephone.

Thus, when security dwindled and the Nazi menace to world peace grew during the later 1930's, the members of the Commonwealth drew closer together. Consultation among their governments increased and when the crisis broke each was in a position to take its stand with full knowledge of the issues involved. All but Eire decided to fight shoulder to shoulder as Commonwealth partners, and while the government of Eire adopted an official policy of neutrality, large

THEIR MAJESTIES KING GEORGE VI AND QUEEN ELIZABETH
AT OTTAWA, MAY 19, 1939

Leaving the Canadian Parliament after the King for the first time in Canada gave royal assent in person to several bills and addressed both houses in the Senate Chamber.

numbers of Eire's citizens promptly enlisted in British forces, recognizing that their country's fate was involved in that of Britain and the Commonwealth.

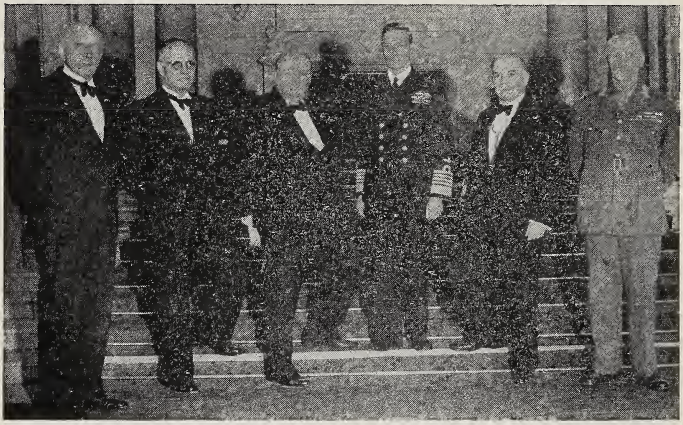
Commonwealth Consultation and Co-operation During the War. During the war practices of consultation within the Commonwealth greatly developed. Air travel brought personal contacts between government leaders and high officials to a degree undreamed of previously. Such personal contacts increased the intimacy and value of letters, telegrams, and long distance conversations. Never before had the governments of the Commonwealth worked together so intimately or their countries co-operated so closely in a common effort. As a group they were the only nations, except France, which took up the gage against the Nazi menace before they were themselves attacked, and for many months after the fall of France they faced the European Axis powers, along with India and the colonies, as China faced Japan in the Far East. They were the nucleus around which gathered in due course the United Nations, first the European governments in exile in London, then Russia and the United States and many others.

In May, 1944, the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth held a conference in London. At its conclusion they issued a statement in which they voiced their devotion to the cause of the United Nations, declared themselves in favour of setting up a world organization to maintain peace and security, and concluded:

> In a world torn by strife we have met here in unity. That unity finds its strength not in any formal bond but in the hidden spring from which human action flows. We rejoice in our inheritance, loyalties and ideals, and proclaim our sense of kinship to one another. Our system of free association has enabled us, each and all, to claim a full share of the common burden.
>
> Although spread across the globe, we have stood together through the stress of two world wars, and have been welded the stronger

thereby. We believe that when the war is won and peace returns, this same free association, this inherent unity of purpose, will make us able to do further service to mankind.

Constitutional Reform in India. India's conspicuous part in the First World War increased her political importance and won sympathy with her aspirations for self-government. Her partnership in the Commonwealth was reflected in Indian membership of the Imperial War Cabinet as well as the Imperial Conference. She became a charter member of the League of Nations. Meanwhile, the British government announced in 1917 that the goal of India's political development was Dominion status, and the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy were commissioned to investigate the whole problem. Their Report in 1918 recommended for the



HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE VI WITH THE PRIME MINISTERS OF HIS COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE, MAY 1, 1944

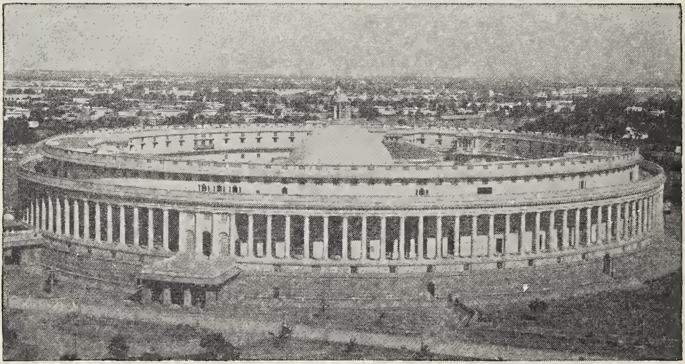
Left to right: Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser (New Zealand), Rt. Hon. John Curtin (Australia), Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill (United Kingdom), His Majesty the King, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King (Canada), Field Marshal Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts (South Africa).

provinces of British India a system called dyarchy by which some of the departments of administration should be in the hands of Indian ministers responsible to the Provincial Legislature, while others should remain under the authority of the Governor. A representative all-India legislature with a mainly elected membership was also recommended. The recommendations went into effect in 1919, with the promise that after ten years the whole question should again be investigated in order to speed progress towards full national self-government.

Following a decade of trial the Simon Commission recommended responsible government in the Provinces and a federal parliament for India, though the Viceroy's Council would not be responsible to the latter. After prolonged discussions including conferences with Indian parties the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act in 1935. The new provincial system with responsible government and wider electorates was soon put into effect. The provision for a new central government for India met with such opposition there that it could not be carried out. Burma, now separated from India, likewise made progress in self-government.

India and the Second World War. When war came, the National Congress Party, which had begun to participate in the new constitutional system in the provinces, reverted to its practice of non-co-operation. The situation became more troubled when Japan's advance into Burma in 1942 created immediate peril for India. Congress Party extremists seized the opportunity to press for independence, while showing pacifist and sometimes pro-Japanese leanings that made it impossible to yield to their demands. The British Government sent out to India Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the Cabinet, who had long been known to sympathize with Indian nationalism. He was to try to secure general agreement upon wartime arrangements looking to the full establishment of national self-government after the war on a basis to be agreed upon by the Indian parties themselves. The proposal failed to win acceptance from various parties for a variety of reasons.

India's war effort, nevertheless, continued to grow, both through the increase in her volunteer forces and by the expansion of her war industries. So rapidly did the latter expand that she moved from a debtor to a creditor position in her external financial relations.



Courtesy India Government Trade Commissioner

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY CHAMBER OF INDIA AT NEW DELHI

Meanwhile, the Viceroy's Council became almost entirely Indian in its membership and many Indians expressed confidence that after the war, in accordance with the British government's offer, Indian parties would be able to agree upon a constitution under which India would realize complete self-government. In that case the decision would rest with India as to whether to become a full partner in the Commonwealth or withdraw from that association. There were conflicting opinions on this point, but many Indians hoped that their country would be able to choose the former course.

The British Colonial Empire. The sixty million inhabitants of the British Colonial Empire live mostly in tropical or semi-tropical conditions and a large proportion of them belong to coloured races. The exceptions are chiefly small possessions such as Gibraltar, Malta, the Falkland Islands and St. Helena, whose importance is mainly strategic. In some colonies such as Bermuda and certain of the West Indies, government has long been conducted with the aid of representative legislatures, and in the colony of Ceylon the system approaches responsible government. Southern Rhodesia enjoys full responsible government though it is not ranked as a dominion.

By contrast, many of the colonies in tropical Africa and in the Pacific are governed according to their native traditions by native rulers under the supervision of British representatives. Increasingly after the First World War it was felt that all colonial government should move towards self-government, and that colonial policy should recognize more fully than in the past the obligation of trusteeship and should encourage a genuine partnership of races to promote both the political development and the economic welfare of the colonies. For many years research in such matters as tropical medicine and tropical horticulture has been directed to promoting the welfare of the colonial peoples. But difficulties are great.

In 1938 a Commission was appointed to investigate the problem of colonial development and welfare. As a result of its report, made after the war began, the British parliament in 1940 passed the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, providing for spending British funds over a period of years to improve economic and social conditions in the colonies. A beginning was made at once in the British West Indies.

The Anglo-American Caribbean Commission (1942). In the Caribbean region the United States also had colonies, and with the building of bases on sites leased from Britain in 1940, American interests grew. A joint Anglo-American Caribbean Commission was set up in 1942 to help to co-ordinate production and transportation for war needs, and also to study many problems common to the whole region in order that each government might profit from its conclusions to improve conditions. Because of Canada's special interest of long standing in economic relations with the West Indies, Canadian officials took part in some of the studies made by the Commission. The Commission's work was not only indicative of Anglo-American co-operation, but its success gave hope that in other parts of the world international co-operation might serve the interests of the people in backward and under-privileged areas.

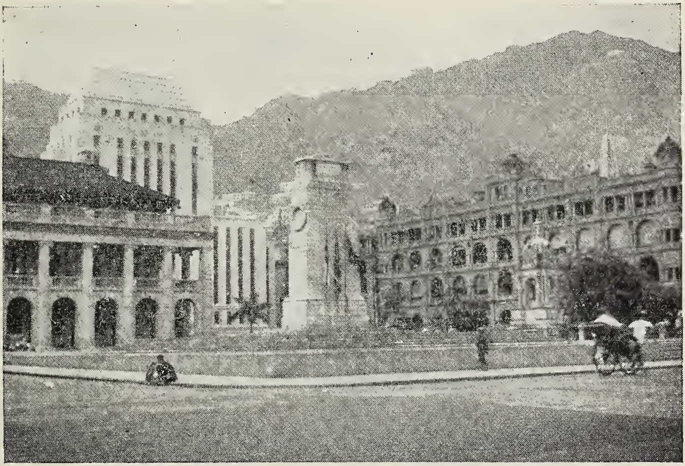
Courtesy Tourist & Exhibitions Board of Trinidad & Tobago

IMPERIAL COLLEGE OF TROPICAL AGRICULTURE AT ST. AUGUSTINE, TRINIDAD
The main objects of the College, which was founded in 1921, are to provide instruction and to conduct research in tropical agriculture.

Mandates. In the Treaty of Versailles, Germany agreed to give up the whole of her colonial empire and Turkey at Lausanne renounced her claims over non-Turkish areas in the Near East. All these territories were nominally to be under the control of the League of Nations which mandated them to various members of the League. On the principle of trusteeship these powers would administer the mandates and be responsible to the League for their peoples' welfare.

Some mandates were placed in an essentially colonial relationship to their mandatories. The former German colonies were allotted as mandates to various powers, including Britain, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan.

The most important mandates placed under the direct authority of Great Britain were of a different sort, comprising parts of the former Turkish Empire, (part of which was similarly entrusted to French control). Among these mandates in the Middle East, Iraq, the ancient Mesopotamia, developed so rapidly as a state under British guidance that it proved possible soon to place it in an independent position and admit it to the League of Nations in 1932. Syria under French rule and Palestine under British have had a more checkered history, and the problem of their political status has remained difficult.



HONG KONG

A colony whose essential importance to the British Empire and to the world has been as a centre of trade. Nineteenth and twentieth century types of architecture stand side by side in this view showing the War Memorial (1914-1918) and the Shanghai Bank. Mount Victoria rises in the background. Notice the jinricksha. This man-drawn vehicle, invented by a Japanese in 1870, is widely used in eastern and southern Asia.

Egypt. Egypt, which had also been nominally a part of the Turkish Empire prior to the war, was declared a protectorate by Britain during the course of hostilities. In the following years its vigorous national feeling found fruition in British recognition of its independence (1922) and its admission into the League of Nations (1937).

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter the dates given in the text in your time chart under "British Empire and Commonwealth".

2. While the component parts of the Commonwealth exhibit a variety of constitutions, they are united by allegiance to a common crown. Consider the importance to the Commonwealth structure of this voluntary allegiance to the monarchy.

3. Give examples of occasions (a) when the nations of the British Commonwealth have acted with one another; (b) when they have acted in different ways on the same question.

4. What does the principle of colonial trusteeship mean: (a) for the colonial peoples? (b) for the world at large? (c) for the power responsible for colonial administration?

5. Gandhi is a famous figure in the history of the nationalist movement in India. Find out what you can about (a) his education and early career; (b) his leadership in the National Congress Party; (c) his aims for India; (d) his political methods.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE AMERICAS SINCE 1914

United States Penetration in the Caribbean Region. In the first quarter of the twentieth century the United States extended economic and political protectorates, in fact if not in law, over a number of republics in the Caribbean region in addition to its protectorates over Cuba and Panama. U.S. marines moved into several of them. In 1917 the Virgin Islands were purchased from Denmark. Throughout Latin America sensitiveness increased at the growing influence of the United States.

The Good Neighbour Policy. By 1930 the importance had become apparent of restoring Latin American confidence in United States intentions. In that year President Hoover began to withdraw marines from the republics in which they had long been stationed. President Roosevelt continued this policy and, by treaties with Cuba in 1934 and Panama in 1936, the United States gave up its claim to the right of intervention. Roosevelt seized the opportunity afforded by economic depression, not only to launch his "New Deal" in internal economic matters, but to become the apostle of a "Good Neighbour" policy in the Americas. Congress authorized the president to lower tariff rates by fifty per cent. in return for reciprocal concessions. Commercial agreements were made with many American countries, which helped to restore confidence in the good-will of the United States.

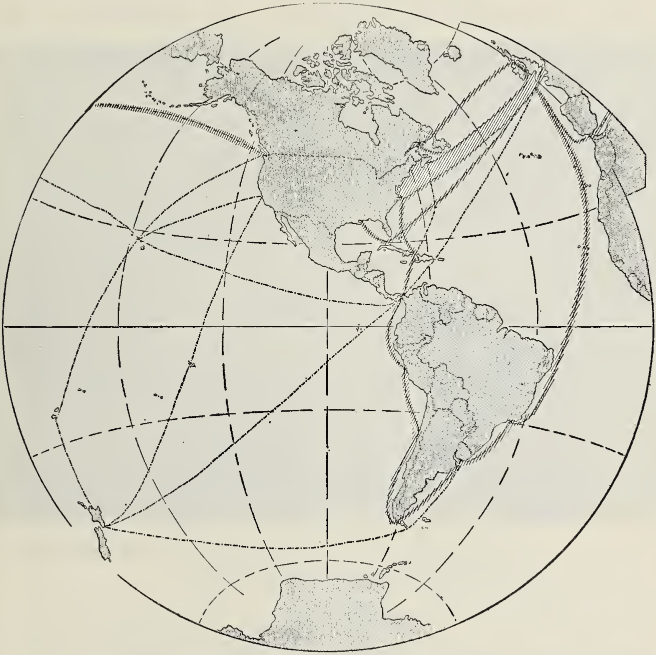
Pan-Americanism Makes Headway. In this atmosphere the Pan-American Union made headway as an instrument for promoting better relations among its members. From 1933 onwards, at a number of Pan-American Conferences under its auspices more progress was made than in the past in shaping a series of Inter-American treaties intended to establish relations among the republics on a basis of full respect for their mutual rights and to build a common front against growing world insecurity. Latin American countries had been inclined to give precedence to the League of Nations over any Inter-American commitments. As the United States showed a more good neighbourly attitude and as the prestige of the League waned, they became more willing to accept Inter-American obligations, and to view problems of defence in Inter-American terms.

Courtesy of Grace Line

STREET SCENE IN QUITO, ECUADOR

Isolationism and Neutrality. The United States, meanwhile, though it joined the International Labour Organization in

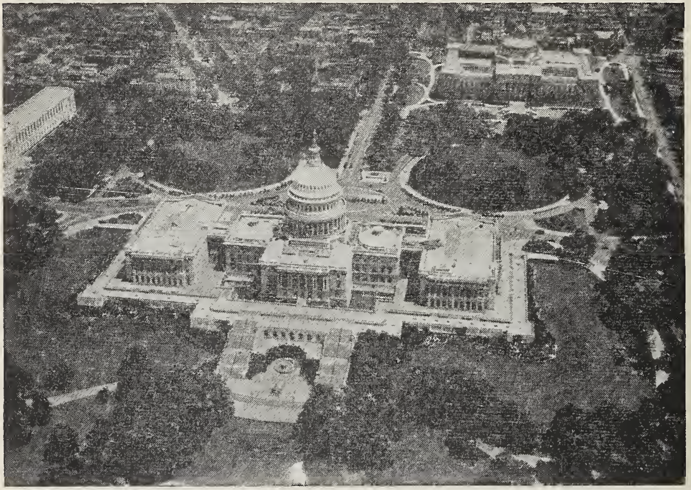
1934, refused in 1935 to join the World Court, the Senate rejecting Roosevelt's plea "once more to throw its weight into the scale in favour of peace".



THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE AND ITS OLD WORLD NEIGHBOURS
The width of the lines marking the chief sea routes indicates the volume of traffic.

In the previous year, irritated at the failure of European countries to pay their war debts, which high American tariffs had, in fact, made it impossible for them to pay, Congress forbade nations in default in these obligations to sell their securities in the United States.

A following series of measures embodied the determination of Congress to preserve American neutrality. Upon declaration by the President that a state of war existed anywhere outside of the Americas, shipments of munitions to the combatants were to be banned, other trade was to be restricted, and travel on merchant vessels of countries at war was to be barred to American citizens, as were loans to warring governments. Roosevelt opposed this legislation, but he was overridden. The will of the nation was overwhelmingly to deny that American security involved responsibilities beyond the western hemisphere.



Dorien Leigh, Limited

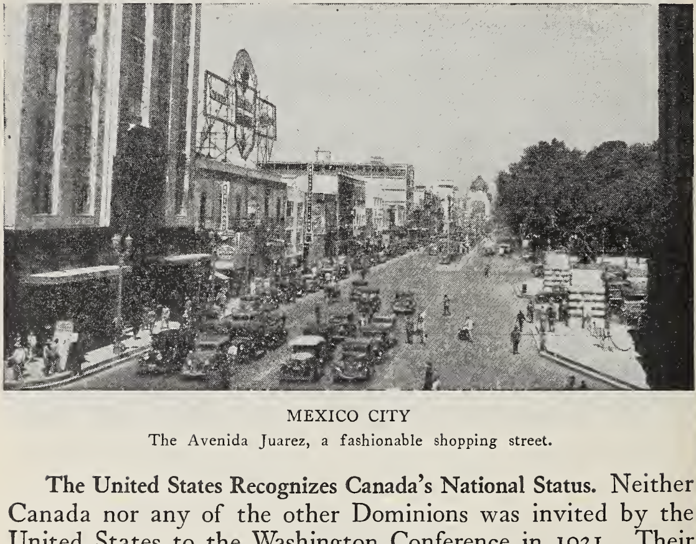
THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON
Home of the United States Congress

Action that had been taken concerning the Philippines was in line with this trend. As Japanese aggression grew in the Far East, it was argued that the United States should withdraw from responsibilities in the western Pacific. In the depths of economic depression in 1933 there were also pressures on Congress from interests wishing to deprive Philippine sugar and coconut oil of special consideration in American markets. A bill was passed to grant the islands complete self-government, after a ten-year transition period as the "Commonwealth of the Philippines". Before reaching full independence, the Philippines were to have a rude awakening as to their dependence on the armed might of the United States.

Pan-American Isolationism and World War. The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 brought the Pan-American system at once into use as an instrument for consolidating the defence of the Americas on the basis of isolation and neutrality. A meeting of foreign ministers of the republics was called at Panama to contrive methods of keeping the Pan-American system out of the war.

In the following year, shortly after the fall of France, another conference met at Havana to take further steps for "hemisphere security". In line with the Monroe Doctrine, it declared against the transfer of any American territory from one European power to another, and it gave authority to any Pan-American country to act in emergency on behalf of all, to prevent any such transfer, or in defence against attack on any American country. Latin America was thus committed to acquiescence, if not co-operation, in the defence of the hemisphere against Axis aggression.

Pan-Americanism after Pearl Harbor. After Pearl Harbor made the United States a belligerent in December, 1941, Pan-Americanism became an instrument for mobilizing against the Axis the sympathies and, to some extent, the activities, of Latin American governments and peoples, and for combatting Axis propaganda and influence. Some of the republics became formal belligerents at once, others later. Several provided useful air bases and raised defence forces. Brazil sent a contingent of troops to Europe. With Mexico the United States set up a Joint Defence Board similar in form to that established earlier with Canada. In spite of pressure from the United States, however, some countries, particularly Argentina, had governments with pro-fascist sympathies during most of the war.



MEXICO CITY

The Avenida Juarez, a fashionable shopping street.

The United States Recognizes Canada's National Status. Neither Canada nor any of the other Dominions was invited by the United States to the Washington Conference in 1921. Their representatives were present, but by courtesy of the British Government, as members of the British delegation. Having accepted a Minister from the Irish Free State in 1924, however, Washington, three years later, exchanged legations with Canada, thus formally recognizing the latter's national status.

Trade Agreements. United States capital continued to flow into Canada as a field of investment, and, as post-war trade resumed its normal channels, cross-border trade between the two countries again occupied a major place in the trade of each, notwithstanding some increases in protective tariffs.

When the great post-war boom collapsed in the Wall Street panic of 1929, there soon followed a set-back in Canadian-American economic relations. The Hawley-Smoot tariff adopted by Congress in 1930 shut out so much Canadian trade that the Canadian government took measures to reduce Canadian purchases in the United States and thus keep the Canadian rate of exchange, already low, from dropping lower. The Commonwealth Conference at Ottawa in 1932 led to trade agreements between Commonwealth countries. The direct result of these agreements in enlarging trade within the Commonwealth was less than had been hoped, but an important indirect result was their influence, along with the influence of tariff increases by many other countries, upon United States policy. Their existence strengthened the hand of Roosevelt's government in securing the support of Congress for the policy of lowering American tariffs by trade agreements.

In 1935 a trade agreement between the United States and Canada reduced tariffs approximately to the level at which they had stood prior to the increases of the early '30's. In 1938 this was renewed with revisions which adjusted it to a new trade agreement made at the same time between the United States and Great Britain.

Canada and the Good Neighbour Policy. In 1938 President Roosevelt opened an international bridge across the St. Lawrence at the Thousand Islands. In an address at Kingston on the same day, he spoke of the changed position of the Americas "no longer a far-away continent to which the eddies of controversies beyond the seas could bring no interest or no harm". He spoke of the common democratic heritage of the United States and Canada. "The Dominion of Canada", he said, "is part of the sisterhood of the British

Empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire".

Two days later, at Woodbridge, Mackenzie King, the Canadian Prime Minister, expressed Canadian appreciation of this speech and emphasized Canadian responsibilities "for maintaining Canadian soil as a homeland for freemen in the Western hemisphere", and for seeing to it that "enemy forces should not be able to pursue their way, either by land, sea or air, to the United States, across Canadian territory."

The International Joint Commission (1909). As long ago as 1909 Canada and the United States had set up the International Joint Commission for dealing with certain questions arising between them. While its primary purpose was to deal with the use of boundary waters, it might also, by special arrangement, be used to settle any dispute.

Notwithstanding the inequality of the two nations in population, wealth and power, their positions in the organization of this commission were equal. It had two chairmen, one from each country, likewise two secretaries, and its membership was evenly balanced. It maintained offices both in Washington and Ottawa, and met on either side of the border as convenience might dictate. Through the years it dealt successfully with many questions.

Canadian-United States Co-operation in Crisis. In 1940, when the fall of France under Germany's attack roused the neutral Americas to their peril, the United States, as the chief power in the Western Hemisphere, sought to strengthen its defences. In August, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister King, taking the Joint High Commission as a precedent, announced at Ogdensburg an agreement to set up a Permanent Joint Board on Defence. This was to study problems of common interest concerning the defence of the northern half of the hemisphere and make such recommendations as it might deem wise to the two governments.

After the United States entered the war in December, 1941, considerable American manpower and capital were used to build on Canadian soil the Alaska Military Highway and various defence works in the north including a number of airfields. Arrangements were made for these to become Canadian property after the war, and Canada later reimbursed the United States for its outlay on the permanent works. Some other aspects of co-operation between the two countries will be noticed later in the chapter on the war.

Canada and Pan-Americanism. At the formation of the Pan-American Union, there had been some expectation in certain quarters that Canada might eventually become a member. This reflected a view that when Canada reached political maturity she would naturally sever all connection with the British Empire and, like the other American nations, become a republic. We have already seen that this was a misunderstanding of Canada's actual position and the character of her growth as a nation. Her development to full nationhood took a different course and she remained within the association of the British Commonwealth, thus combining full national independence with the preservation of a common crown, a common citizenship, and intimate practices of consultation, in the Commonwealth.

Meanwhile, the Pan-American Union continued to be an organization whose unity was not based solely upon geography (if it had been, it would have included the colonial territories in the Caribbean region), but was based rather on a common political tradition of independence attained by revolutionary violence and the complete severance of political connections with the old world. During the war, as Canada's Prime Minister remarked in the House of Commons in 1942, there were obvious reasons why "the South American republics and the United States might wish to discuss their economic and other problems without having representation from any member of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

Canada in the Americas and in the World. Canada, meanwhile, was by no means indifferent to her relations with Latin American countries, and was rapidly improving them. A trade mission to Latin America in 1941 resulted in trade agreements with a number of those countries and legations were exchanged with several. The more important of these were raised later to embassies along with Canada's legations in Washington, Moscow, Paris and Chungking. Canada's financial and commercial dealings with Latin America were only a small fraction of her total external transactions and could never assume a large place by comparison with her economic dealings with the United States and the British Commonwealth. She hoped, nevertheless, to increase them as much as possible. Cultural contacts also were growing. As the war continued, however, it looked as if the Pan-American Union might be changed before long in its organization and purposes. Whether in future Canada was likely to join the Union would depend upon what these changes might be and how far they might make membership for Canada consistent with her position and responsibilities in the British Commonwealth of Nations and in the world at large.

In the years of world crisis Canadians had become ever more conscious of the desirability of promoting good and close relations with all the countries of the Americas and particularly with the United States, but they had also become more deeply convinced of the necessity of continuing intimate and co-operative relations with those nations by whose side they had stood shoulder to shoulder since 1939 in the fight for their own security and that of the United Nations. Long before the war was over Canada had obviously become, in the phrase of Winston Churchill, a "linch-pin" holding together the free peoples of the old world and the new, or, as her own Prime Minister described her, a "bridge" between them.

Screen Traveller from Gendreau

RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

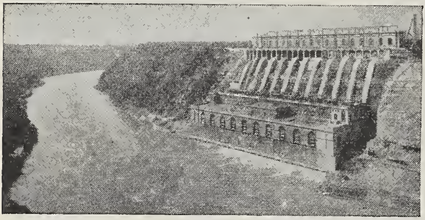
Copacabana Beach as seen from the top of Sugar Loaf Mountain.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter the dates given in the text in your time chart under "The Americas".
2. In this chapter Canada is described as a "linch-pin" between Britain and the United States. What does this expression mean to you?

CHAPTER XXXII

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL TRENDS SINCE 1914



Courtesy Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario

QUEENSTON-CHIPPEWA POWER HOUSE IN THE NIAGARA GORGE

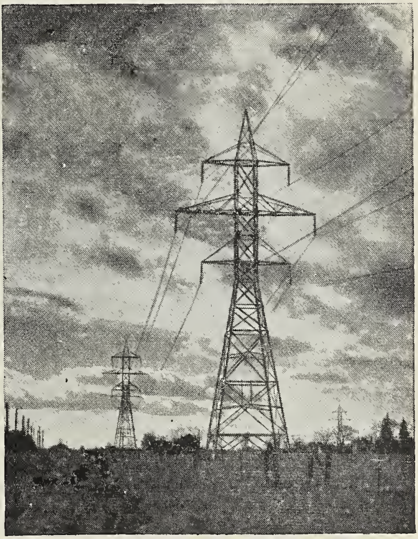
Science and a Rapidly Changing World. The importance of scientific investigation and of the application of its discoveries to industry was recognized more than ever in the years following the First World War.

Scientists outgrew the era when many of them thought that the whole universe could be explained in material and mechanical terms. The deeper they probed into its mysteries the more conscious they became of infinite new problems of the material universe and society. The greatest scientists now took the view that human knowledge could never hope to be so complete on any subject that it would not need to be modified in the light of further discovery.

In the realm of the natural sciences and in the realm of the social sciences, men were more awake than in the past to the diversity and complexity of our world. In fact, knowledge of the many sidedness of the world was growing so fast that mankind found difficulty in fitting together the new knowledge and his fundamental convictions about the goal of life and about the standards by which it should be lived. This was true in a special sense of the "more advanced" peoples. It was also true of "backward" societies, which were having to make the transition in a few years from living in isolated barbarism to being part of a rapidly changing and shrinking world.

Industrial Changes Accelerated. We have seen in an earlier chapter that the effects of the Industrial Revolution were spreading through the world with growing rapidity before the war of 1914-18. Industrialization and the many changes in society that it involved were speeded by the war and did not slacken after it was over. The Second World War speeded them still more.

Power. While steam power became increasingly efficient both in coal burning and oil burning steam engines, more spectacular was the extension of the use of electric power and internal combustion motors. Hydro-electric power systems, of which that in Ontario had been one of the first, were now established in many regions where water power was available. The Shannon River was

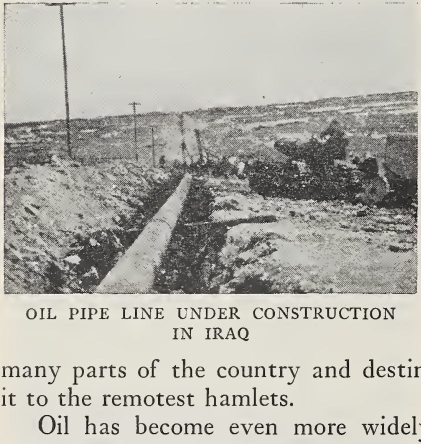


Courtesy Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario

HIGH POWER TRANSMISSION LINE

harnessed to serve a large part of western Ireland. The Tennessee Valley in the United States was the scene of an elaborate project in which harnessing the river for power was the means of rejuvenating the economic and social life of the whole valley in many ways.

In densely populated countries where there was not the available water power for hydro-electric projects but there was an ample supply of coal, steam power was used at the mine head to generate electricity which, like hydro-electricity, could then be distributed widely by high power transmission lines. The most notable example of this kind of electrical development was in Great Britain, where numerous power stations served a network or "grid" of transmission lines carrying electric power to many parts of the country and destined before long to carry it to the remotest hamlets.



OIL PIPE LINE UNDER CONSTRUCTION IN IRAQ

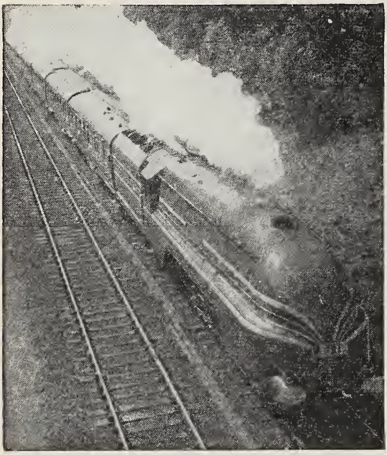
Oil has become even more widely important than electricity as a source of power owing to its increasing use both as fuel for steamships and steam locomotives and in diesel engines and gasoline motors. Oil from wells drilled in widely scattered parts of the world, notably North America, Venezuela, the Caucasus and the Middle East, has become a principal factor in the world's economy and its transportation by tanker, tank car, motor truck, and pipe line engages an important part of the world's transportation facilities.

Transportation. Automobiles and Trucks. Railways. Ocean Liners. Aeroplanes. Automobiles had become fairly efficient before 1914. Necessities of war led to their improvement and stimulated the development of special types of tractors and heavy trucks and buses. Mass production for war needs hastened the day when cars could be cheap enough for common use. Better safety factors in body construction, brakes, safety glass, balloon tires and so forth, and the construction of paved highways and improvements of other roads stimulated the use of private automobiles and buses. The latter took much passenger traffic from railways, and trucks were used increasingly for long distance as well as local freight. Speed limits increased as cars and highways were improved. In many cities and on main highways and many secondary roads in the countryside horse traffic almost disappeared between the wars. By 1939 most armies had mechanized both their artillery and their transport and replaced cavalry by motorized and tank units.

Although road traffic was greatly increased railways were still a necessity, partly because they could operate with greater independence of weather, and partly because for the long distance hauling of bulk freight and for refrigerated articles they were a great deal more economical. They also still had their place for fast express and for passenger service, and with improvements in speed, safety and comfort (especially by air conditioning) they recovered a good deal of the traffic that was lost for a time to the automobile and the bus.

In ocean traffic competition between the great passenger companies centered on luxury liners such as the *Normandie* and the *Queen Mary*, the fastest of which could cross the Atlantic in four days. Large scale emigration from Europe had passed, and ocean liners no longer catered largely to steerage passengers, but were designed mainly to accommodate the general travelling public. In the winter many of the vessels which plied during the warmer season in the trans-Atlantic trade were kept busy as cruise ships taking vacationists to the Tropics or sometimes around the world. The size and speed of the mammoth liners made them exceedingly useful as troop transports in wartime.

The aeroplane was in its infancy in 1914 but before general war came again in 1939 it had become important for high speed travel over long distances both in North America and in Europe; and from Britain and the United States air routes were being operated to Australia and South Africa, to South America and to China. The Atlantic between Europe and North America had been flown many times and plans were being made for commercial flights on regular schedule. In Canada the aeroplane found special use in opening up new northern areas inaccessible by other means. Canada therefore led the world in volume of airborne freight, though the United States was in the lead for passenger mileage, and Great Britain had the farthest-reaching system spanning continents and seas.



STREAMLINED POWER IN TRANSPORTATION
"The Coronation Scot", of the London, Midland and Scottish Railway, exhibited at the New York World's Fair in 1939.

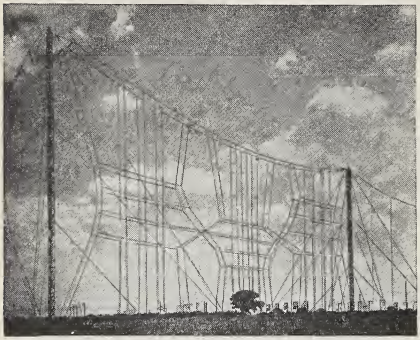
More and more mankind was on the move for business and for pleasure. In many North American cities the most imposing building was the railway station. Automobiles, trains and boats, as well as aeroplanes, became streamlined in design, partly for utility—to lessen air resistance at high speeds—but partly to satisfy the growing craving for even the appearance of speed. To many people streamlining seemed a good in itself whether it served any logical purpose or not. The word became a term of commendation for anything that was simple and direct.

Improvements in Communications. If people were more than ever on the move and were moving ever faster, they also were demanding speedier means of communication at a distance. Postal services were improved by the extension of rural deliveries and by the adoption of air-mail. It became possible to use telegraph and cable wires for an increasing number of messages. Telephonic services were greatly extended not only within urban areas but for long distance telephoning. Wireless telegraphy was perfected and the trans-oceanic telephone became a reality.

The invention of the teletype enabled news services to send out their reports simultaneously to their subscribing newspapers and the latter to receive them automatically with accuracy as well as speed. A system was invented also of sending pictures telegraphically so that news photographs could now reach a world-wide audience almost as quickly as the story in words. The reader of a newspaper could now follow major events all over the world from day to day in more detail and with greater vividness than ever before, provided that the newspaper which he read took advantage of the facilities available. News-reels became a regular feature of cinema programmes.

A great step in the transmission of sound came with the invention of radio broadcasting and the perfecting of receiving instruments for home use. By the late 1920's radio broadcasting became an important vehicle of entertainment, of news reporting, and in those countries where its use for the purpose was permitted, of advertising.

Manufacturing. The most striking developments in manufacturing between the two World Wars of the twentieth century were of two sorts. Processes were more and more carried out by machinery that required little skill on the part of those who tended it, and manufacturing effort went in larger proportion than ever before into the production of goods in large quantities for mass markets. Some of this mass production was for export trade, but its most spectacular development was in the United States where it was based mainly upon the existence of a very large domestic market. Automobiles, radios, electric refrigerators and many other articles of commercial and household use could be sold in almost unlimited quantities if they could be produced cheaply enough.



Courtesy British Broadcasting Corporation, Toronto

A B.B.C. TRANSMITTING STATION

For India, Malaya, Western Australia, the West Indies and Central America.

Mass production of standardized articles was helped by the device of the assembly-line, whose most important use was in putting together parts produced in quantity, some of them in separate factories. The need for a rapid increase of production of war supplies after 1939 could not have been met as it was without reliance upon assembly-line methods and "bits and pieces" production in numerous smaller plants.

This new large-scale organization of work is a logical development from the very much simpler division of labour of earlier times, but it has been carried out upon so wide a scale and has played so tremendous a part in meeting the needs of war that at first glance it seems revolutionary.

Extractive Industries. Some of the extractive industries have undergone no less striking transformation since the War of 1914-1918. In forest products wood-pulp has become more important and has involved the building of larger plants and the use of great quantities of power (in Canada and Scandinavia chiefly hydro-electric).

Mining has become an industry requiring more capital and use of power machinery than formerly. This is particularly true of hard-rock mining in such areas as the Canadian Shield from which non-ferrous metals and other minerals have been taken in quantities that have made Canada one of the leading mining countries in the world. The refining of many of these minerals required heavy machinery and extensive use of hydro-electric power. Such power was so important in producing aluminum that bauxite ore was transported long distances, notably from British Guiana to the St. Lawrence and the Saguenay, where hydro-electric power was available on a large scale for treating it.

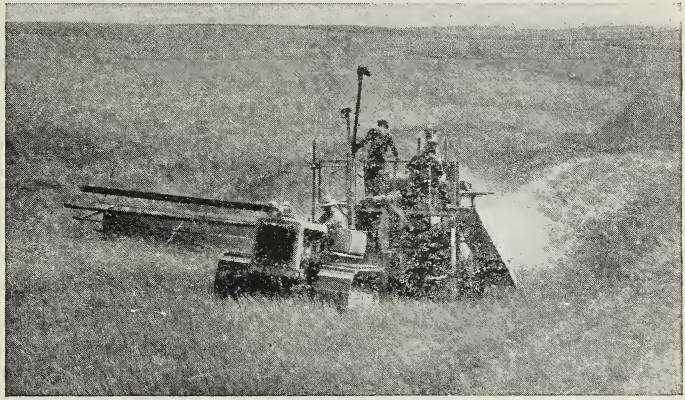
Most prospecting for minerals came to be done not by the old-time prospector with a pick and shovel and a burro or canoe, but by trained scientists using elaborate methods and on the basis of expert surveys of wide areas. Preliminary topographical surveys were made rapidly and efficiently by aerial photography in areas otherwise difficult of access. Aeroplanes also made possible the development of mineral resources in areas so remote from civilization that the cost of other means of transportation would have been prohibitive.

Organization of Industry. Distribution of Goods to Consumers. Larger scale operations involving more capital and catering to wider markets led to ever larger scale organization of industrial and commercial corporations. Sometimes international combinations were formed known as cartels. While in some ways efficiency was served by more centralized direction and control, problems also were created. Large scale organization led to more government regulation of industry and commerce and transportation, and in some countries public utilities were more and more taken over by the state. Producers' co-operatives also became important, particularly in fruit-growing, in the dairy industry and in other types of agriculture, and in fisheries. Cheap and efficient distribution of goods remained a major problem, though the mail-order house and the chain-store did something to effect economies. Consumers' co-operatives became more numerous.

The problem of distribution was also met in part by decentralizing some phases of industry; for example, some of the great motor car companies in the United States established branch assembly plants in various sections of their own country and in the countries which were their chief foreign markets. (A special factor affecting the establishment in Canada of branches of some American industries was the preferential tariff enjoyed by Canadian exports in most countries of the British Empire.)

High-power electric transmission lines made power readily available for plants far removed from the source of power and therefore made decentralization easier and offset somewhat the tendency of industry to concentrate at large urban centres.

Agriculture. Agriculture was increasingly mechanized in many countries. Tractors as well as trucks, greatly improved as a result of experience in war, replaced horses to a considerable degree in farm work and for hauling produce. The gasoline motor was used also to operate many types of machinery on the farm, for pumping water, sawing fire-wood chopping feed for stock, running electric generators for light, etc. In Great Britain, mechanization was applied to varied work on comparatively small farms; indeed by the middle 1940's English agriculture was the most highly mechanized in the world. The most spectacular mechanization, however, was in regions like the North American prairies and the Russian steppes where very large farms, whether under private ownership or under collective control, offered the maximum opportunity for the use of power and machinery on a large scale.



Courtesy Caterpillar Tractor Co.

A TRACTOR-DRAWN COMBINE ON THE WESTERN PRAIRIES

Harvesting wheat yielding 35 to 40 bushels per acre. Working 11 hours a day on one gallon of fuel per hour. Covering 40 acres per day. (1941)

The War of 1914-1918 produced a boom in world markets for food stuffs and demand continued large during the earlier years of reconstruction and rehabilitation. As war-torn countries recovered their productive power the world found itself, however, with a surplus of staple agricultural products over the amount which the existing means of distribution could dispose of, despite the fact that in many parts of the world large numbers of people were still undernourished. The consequent fall in prices of farm products created difficulties for agriculture which were greatly increased by successive crop failures, particularly in North America where a prolonged period of drought demonstrated that much prairie land had been brought under the plough which should have remained permanently under grass. So great was the distress that many governments found it necessary to adopt measures of relief for agriculture by establishing minimum prices maintained at state expense. In both Canada and the United States extensive programmes of farm rehabilitation had to be undertaken, and from areas where drought had done its worst large numbers of people had to be moved to new areas where climatic conditions would be permanently more favourable.

The return of war in 1939 placed new demands upon agriculture which scientific leadership and expert planning enabled it to meet by astonishing increases of production, notwithstanding manpower shortages as men were drawn into the Armed Forces and into industry. It was not merely in advanced countries like Great Britain, Canada and the United States that agriculture rose to the emergency. In the British West African colonies, for example, upon which Britain had to depend for the fat ration of her people and her Armed Forces, native producers of palm oil and ground nuts increased production, notwithstanding their manpower shortage owing to the withdrawal of many men from ordinary work for building air-fields for the trans-African air route and for service in the armed forces.

The New Rural Community. It seemed likely that in countries with more advanced agriculture the trend would continue towards both rural depopulation and an increase of production from the land. While this trend was breaking up the older pattern of rural life, it was developing a new pattern in which the community unit was much more extensive by virtue of the general use of the rural telephone and the possibility, with better roads and motor transportation, of reducing distance in terms of time. Even in education the tendency was towards replacing a number of scattered small schools by a larger single school and the use of school buses.

Living Conditions. Trends in living conditions that were already visible in the early years of the present century became more marked as the years went by. Changes in architecture resulting from new needs and new methods of construction, which at first showed themselves in commercial and industrial buildings, later influenced greatly the designing and building of houses. Most conspicuously this influence showed itself where slum clearances and expansion of population required large-scale building of new accommodation. In many continental European cities, among which striking examples were Vienna and Amsterdam, large blocks of simple apartments were built in surroundings that gave their occupants not only ample light and air but the amenities of community life on a high level. In the British countries and in the United States, while new housing needs were supplied to some extent by such block buildings, there was more tendency to continue as well the tradition of the independent house with its own front door and garden, grouping houses with shops and community buildings in garden suburbs and "satellite towns". These were so arranged as to be close to traffic facilities but free from local traffic congestion.

Town-planning and landscape architecture became recognized professions along with the older professions of architect and engineer. Many communities had not availed themselves of these new skills when the Second World War began, but there was a growing interest in them, which was intensified as people looked to the problems of re-building and improving their environment after the war. Dwellers in the new world became generally conscious in the twentieth century, as the people of the old world long had been, of the difference between gardens and mere back yards and the superiority of the former as a setting for civilized living.

The tendency in housing design and in furnishings was towards what is called functional treatment, using materials in the most direct and simple way to serve the purpose in mind. Sometimes clumsiness was mistakenly confused with simplicity, but gradually more people became aware that the fundamental qualities of sound design rest on appropriateness and on good proportions.

A SLUM OF THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY
Demolished by the London County Council

Fashions. Fashions in clothing furnished striking evidence of the growing singleness of the world community and of the diminishing significance of class differences. Quick pictorial transmission of the news about how people dress in the centres of fashion spread the desire among peoples of various classes and in many countries to imitate the fashions as worn in Paris or London or New York or Hollywood. Economies of mass production and a growing skill in producing well-designed ready-to-wear garments made possible their wider distribution not only in larger communities but through mail-order houses and chain-stores to places small and remote.

THE SUBSTITUTE FOR THE SLUM
Roehampton Estate, one of many housing projects of the London County Council to house former dwellers in the slums.

A notable feature of the trends of fashion was the way in which they catered to comfort and convenience. In the days of the great mass migration from central and eastern Europe to North America at the beginning of this century, a kerchief on the head was almost a symbol of the immigrant peasant, but by the 1940's, except for traditional festivals or when engaged in work demanding special clothes, all folk in western countries and many eastern ones followed, or tried to follow, the same fashions. Kerchiefs, being convenient, ceased to be a badge of race or class and became an accepted part of the universal feminine wardrobe. It was a wholesome sign that the test of the well-dressed person ceased to be found in evidence of expensiveness but rather in good taste and appropriateness. This became true of purely decorative articles of dress such as jewellery as well as those of essential utility.

AN INTERURBAN BUS, 1943

Leisure and Amusements. Labour-saving devices in the factory and in the home, in travel and communication, and even on the farm, diminished in varying degree the hours of toil. In industry this was most noticeable, but was accompanied by more monotony and higher nervous tension as work was organized so that workers must keep pace with machines.

The new leisure was used by many for release from these tensions. Much in the way of amusement could be had cheaply in the rôle of spectator of sports or movies, or as a listener to the radio.

A marked development, however, was the growing use of leisure for constructive purposes. People spent more time in reading or following their individual hobbies. They participated with others in group activity in arts and crafts, and in the study and discussion of public affairs as problems of the local community, the nation, or the world. Cheap editions of good literature in book form and manuals for the amateur on every subject took the place of much of the lower-level periodical "literature", as the level of literacy rose and the leisure interests of the people became more mature.

Economic Change and Social Distress. The Great Depression. Economic changes have almost always created problems and distress, even when their long-range consequences have been beneficial. The rapid and widespread changes in techniques during the War of 1914-18 and afterwards, combined with the difficulties of post-war readjustments in industry and commerce, produced in the early thirties the deepest and most wide-spread depression in history. It was of long duration, and modern facilities for the gathering and distribution of news and statistics acquainted society with the seriousness of its problems as never before.

BLACKPOOL
A favourite seaside resort of Lancashire's industrial population. The tower is a famous landmark.

Economic necessity forced the "rationalization" of industry in order to prevent bankruptcy. This involved the utmost economies in labour and accentuated the already calamitous unemployment. Whole classes whose livelihood depended upon seasonal occupations suffered acutely. The existence of depressed areas within generally prosperous societies became more obvious. Great inequalities in the distribution of wealth aroused criticism, not only from the under-privileged, but from all who realized the essential interdependence of all elements in society.

A Widening Sense of Social Justice and Social Responsibility. The result has been more general appreciation of the necessity of the state's accepting larger responsibility than in the past for the economic and social welfare of the people. There remain wide differences of view as to the extent to which the state should assume responsibility in directing economic life, but few question any longer that it must safeguard the individual against his falling below a minimum standard of living through no fault of his own but through a failure of the economic system, as so many suffered during the great depression.

Much progress has been made in slum clearance and in providing decent surroundings in living and working conditions; more is needed. Education, which has done so much to widen people's horizons and raise their efficiency, must serve the individual and through him his society, even better. Ampler security must be afforded the crippled, the insane, the sick, the aged, widows and orphans. Public health measures have become recognized as a community necessity. Before the end of the war, governments were extending their programmes in these matters and making plans for post-war measures.

Interdependence of the World Economy. The Great Depression drove home the lesson that the prosperity of every country is interlocked with that of others far away. A bank failure in Austria or a panic on the New York Stock Exchange has its unfavourable reverberations on pioneer farms on the fringes of Canadian prairie settlements and in the lumber camps and mines of the northern wilderness.

After the First World War men talked of the singleness of the world community, but national governments followed ultra-nationalist economic policies. A World Economic Conference met in 1933, but was helpless in face of the difficulties of the time.

During the Second World War the leading United Nations recognized the necessity of facing many economic problems internationally if each of them was to have prosperity within its own borders after the war. Numerous conferences studied these problems and elaborate plans were made for stabilizing and safe-guarding the world economy. How well those plans could be carried out only events could show.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Dates for your time chart under "Scientific Discoveries and Inventions" and "International Relations": First permanent radio broadcasting station, 1920; Regular radio-telephone service London to New York, 1927; Radio television, 1927; First sound or talking motion pictures, 1928; World Economic Conference, 1933.

2. Compare a newspaper of today with one of 1910, with respect to (a) editorials; (b) news columns; (c) special features such as sports, society, comics, book reviews, and (d) advertising.

3. Before the First World War when a depression hit one region people could move to another. Why was this largely impossible during "The Great Depression"?

4. Suggest ways in which your community could provide better facilities for its citizens to use their leisure time profitably.

CHAPTER XXXIII

TOTALITARIAN EXPERIMENTS (1917-1939)

I. TURKEY: JAPAN: RUSSIA: ITALY

Exaggerated hopes in some quarters that peace would bring Utopia gave way in the 1920's to widespread disillusionment among those who had held them. In the Western democracies, when even drastic measures failed to prevent economic depression or to cure at once the social distresses that it brought, some talked of abandoning political democracy, arguing that it stood in the way of improving society. But governments enlarged their programmes in an attempt to relieve and improve the operation of the economic system, and most political parties remained loyal to the processes of democratic government which they believed had given them the capacity to organize victory, and which represented the way of life for whose survival in their own lands they had fought the war.

In countries where democratic constitutional government had never been tried or had not taken deep root, disillusioned and discouraged peoples who were inexperienced in the difficult art of genuinely popular government showed a tendency to prefer dictatorships which promised individual prosperity and security and national power. In several states that were highly modern in some respects, notably Italy, Germany, and Japan, a recent veneer of parliamentary government was rubbed off and they reverted to their age-old autocratic traditions. Russia and Turkey were examples of societies, previously among the more backward nations, where autocratic methods were used to change their life in many social and economic ways and with remarkable speed.

The New Turkey. The Young Turk movement of the early years of the century had been liberal in its desire to modernize the organization of the Turkish state, but narrowly national in its purpose to Turkify non-Turkish races in the empire. Prior to the Treaty of Lausanne Turkey had lost its non-Turkish territories, had "eliminated" the Armenians, and now she Turkified her western coasts by an exchange of Greeks for Turks from Greece.

It was Mustafa Kemal's hope as president to work towards a political democracy. A constitution with strongly democratic aspects was established and a real effort was made to give the men and women of Turkey much-needed experience in the working of the new form of government. Yet Kemal used autocratic and drastic methods to speed the westernization of Turkish life, employing ruthless compulsion when he deemed it expedient. The Sultan had owed much of his prestige to his religious importance as Caliph (or religious head of all Mohammedans), but now Mohammedanism was divorced from the state completely. As an outward sign of the inward and spiritual westernizing change which he sought, Kemal decreed that Turkish men must no longer wear the fez or the turban, nor women go veiled, but all must don the hat of western Europe. He ordered Turkish printed and written with the Latin alphabet of the western world in place of the Arabic alphabet and all Turks had to learn and use the new forms or suffer penalties. Turkey doubtless had to be modernized speedily if she was to hold her own as a nation in the modern world. The autocratic nature of the methods used was in line with the historic traditions of the Turkish people, and also appealed to an aroused Turkish nationalism. The revolution thus became a people's movement.

Japan Seeks to Dominate China. Liberal elements in Japan would have liked to develop a genuinely liberal political system such as existed under the British constitution. Gaining power in the early 1920's, the liberal party introduced universal manhood suffrage in 1925 and followed conciliatory foreign policies.

Meanwhile, Japanese demands on China, begun during the War of 1914-1918, had led to discussion of the Far Eastern Question at the Washington Conference (1921-1922) when Japan joined in the nine-power treaties. While she was recognized as having major interests in the Far East, Japan pledged herself, as did the other signatories, to respect China's independence and territorial integrity. By the beginning of the 1930's the desire of industrialists for expanded markets under Japanese control and the ambitions of army leaders brought a concentration of political power in a group determined on an aggressive policy. They initiated the attack on the Chinese in Manchuria in 1931 and before long seized control of the Japanese government. When liberal forces threatened their supremacy they resorted to assassination of political opponents. Whatever substance constitutional government had ever possessed in Japan disappeared and it became a mere shadow, with real control in the hands of the military, and the use of force against their political opponents the habitual basis of their power.

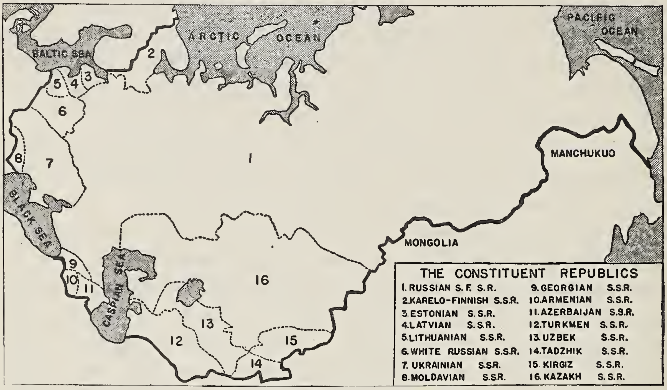
Meanwhile, Japan extended her influence southwards beyond the Great Wall of China (1935) and in 1937 began a conflict which she called an "incident" but which was really a large scale war. She seized much Chinese territory in the north and east in the effort to destroy China's independence, which was defended valiantly under her Nationalist leader, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Certain Powers protested but the "incident" continued. The struggle stimulated a more intense nationalism in China which partly counteracted the deep divisions among her people.

The Revolutionary Government Confirms its Hold in Russia. The Bolshevik government in Russia, having made peace with Germany, had to face counter-revolutionary risings, which were aided, after Germany's collapse, by Allied contingents. In July, 1918, the Royal Family had been murdered and in the autumn fifty thousand internal opponents of the revolutionary government were purged by exile or execution. Gradually, the risings were put down, and peace was made with the three Baltic states, Finland, and Poland, which had been created out of former Russian territory by the peace settlement. The revolutionary government received full formal recognition by Germany in 1922, by Britain, France, and Italy in 1924, and by the United States in 1934.

The Soviet Constitution. Lenin and his associates based the formal organization of the new Russia on the Soviets (committees) of peasants, workers and soldiers. Local soviets elected delegates to a district soviet, which in turn sent representatives to the Congress of Soviets in Moscow. This body met but seldom. It elected the Central Executive Committee, a large body of two houses which chose the Council of Commissars (or Sovnarkom) whose members headed the various departments of government. They carried on the government under the supervision of a Presidium or sub-committee of the Central Executive Committee.

This was the constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. With it were associated several other Soviet Republics, the whole comprising the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (the U.S.S.R.) which took the place of the old Russian Empire. The republics were theoretically autonomous in local matters, and languages and traditions of the various nationalities in the U.S.S.R. were respected; but the Russian Republic comprised about three-fourths of the area and two-thirds of the population of the whole Union. Each of the republics and the Union itself had constitutions similar to that of the Russian Republic.

In 1936 a new constitution for the U.S.S.R., comprising then eleven republics, provided for direct election by secret ballot of delegates to the Supreme Soviet of the Union, in which a second chamber represented nationalities. This Supreme Soviet or Supreme Council replaced the former Central Executive Committee elected by the Congress of Soviets which also was discontinued. The franchise, already accorded to all men and women over eighteen who were neither capitalists, priests nor bourgeoisie, in other words to all the so-called workers, was broadened to include some others. The new constitution provided for freedom of speech and other rights of the individual. Its provisions must be read, however, in the light of their operation.


ARCTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
BALTIC SEA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
MANCHUKUO
MONGOLIA
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
THE CONSTITUENT REPUBLICS
1. RUSSIAN S. F. S. R.
2. KARELO-FINNISH S.S.R.
3. ESTONIAN S. S.R.
4. LATVIAN S. S.R.
5. LITHUANIAN S.S.R.
6. WHITE RUSSIAN S.S.R.
7. UKRAINIAN S.S.R.
8. MOLDAVIAN S.S.R.
9. GEORGIAN S.S.R.
10. ARMENIAN S.S.R.
11. AZERBAIJAN S.S.R.
12. TURKMEN S.S.R.
13. UZBEK S.S.R.
14. TADZHIK S.S.R.
15. KIRGIZ S.S.R.
16. KAZAKH S.S.R.

THE U.S.S.R. IN 1945

The Communist Party in the Soviet State. From the beginning of the Revolution in 1917 there was a close association between the government and the Communist Party. Although that party, even in 1939, numbered only two and a half million, its members were carefully chosen and trained to be the leaders at every level from the local community upwards. At the head of the Communist Party was the All-Party Congress, whose policy was directed by a Central Committee. Frequently members of the Central Committee were chosen as Commissars. Joseph Stalin, who succeeded Lenin in 1924 as the most influential member of the Central Government, continued to hold the post he already occupied of Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, which in his hands became the most important office in Russia.

The ideology of the party was based upon the political and economic teachings of Karl Marx (1818-1883), according to whom the common man was to find his place in the world through revolutionary seizure of power by a minority of workers who would set up a dictatorship of the proletariat. The policy that foes of the dictatorship must be purged was frankly avowed. A wide franchise and a secret ballot afforded no opportunity to support opposition candidates, for none could run for office. Freedom of public discussion did not include criticizing the system of government or its policies once they were announced.

The Revolution in Russian Life. The industrialization of Russia had begun before the Revolution and would no doubt have proceeded at growing speed in any case, but the Soviet regime increased its speed and affected its nature. At the beginning thorough-going Communism was intended. All factories were to be taken over by workmen, all land by the peasants, all industrial plants, mines and railways by the state, and exchange was to take place by barter without the use of money. Efforts to carry out this programme resulted in complete confusion, a decline in production and an intensification of the country's distress.

The Supreme Economic Council began to appoint factory managers. In 1921, although opposed by his associate Trotsky, Lenin brought in his New Economic Policy (N.E.P.) by which the use of money was restored, farmers, after paying a grain tax, could sell in the open market, and small businesses could be privately run. Shortly afterwards insurance companies were legalized and state banks opened. A Planning Commission was set up to improve methods of production and distribution by state planning and subsidy, and raise the material and cultural level of the workers.

Sovfoto

IRON AND STEEL WORKS AT MAGNITOGORSK

The first blast-furnace was fired in this huge steel plant in the Urals in 1932.

When Stalin's first Five Year Plan began in 1928, agricultural production was brought under a new system of collective farming, partly based on the old communal tradition of rural land holding, and partly accomplished by forcing the Kulaks, or farmers who had gained noticeable wealth, to become members of the collective farms. New machinery and new methods, with teachers and inspectors to supervise their use, were introduced.

Industry and transportation were also reorganized under state control to increase production, promote national self-sufficiency, and strengthen resources for defence. Much of this was done with the aid of foreign technical experts and capital. A second and a third five-year plan followed in 1933 and 1938.

Education. In order to banish illiteracy, which had been exceptionally high, elementary education, promoted by the state, included adult education among the common people. At first everything was omitted that would keep alive the traditions of earlier times but in the effort to increase pride in Russia it was later decided that Russia's past achievements and the traditional folk-lore of her people could not wisely be banished from the nation's memory.

While the press and the arts, both the graphic arts and the art of the theatre, were sponsored by the state and in some respects flourished as never before, none of them was encouraged to exercise freedom of thought or criticism in matters touching official views. As of old, the secret police, the arbitrary court, banishment to Siberia and, when deemed advisable, death, were the ordinary political instruments to prevent freedom of discussion and organized political opposition to the party in power. Yet inequalities of opportunity based on race, creed and sex had been largely removed and, while the living standards of the people as a whole remained low compared with those in more economically advanced countries, they had greatly improved.

Russia and International Communism. The Third International (the Comintern) was founded in Moscow in 1919 by Lenin to spread Communist propaganda in preparation for a world revolution. After Lenin's death in 1924 Joseph Stalin, who succeeded him, won increasing support for the view that to attempt world revolution was futile and that Russia should therefore concentrate on organizing prosperity at home and trying to establish friendly relations with the rest of the world. In 1935 she became a member of the League of Nations. Already she had been a stout advocate of disarmament. Now she advocated increasing the League's efficacy to prevent acts of aggression. In May, 1943, the U.S.S.R. announced the dissolution of the Third International.

Italy and the Tradition of Despotic Government. Mussolini's Rise. The Fascist Dictatorship. Ever since Julius Caesar destroyed the ancient Roman republic, Italy's political experience had been mainly under upstart dictators or hereditary despots. Before 1914 her young parliamentary system, which had become something of a reality, notwithstanding the political inexperience of the masses of the Italian people, was showing signs of weakness and corruption.

In the distresses of the post-war years a new upstart, Mussolini, made himself master of the monarchy and destroyed representative government. By strong-arm methods and by loud-mouthed oratory, Mussolini imposed a certain superficial neatness and efficiency upon Italian government and society, and led the people to believe that he could restore the ancient glories of Imperial Rome. His system, though a denial of liberalism and democracy, attracted many Italians. He shut the mouths of his critics.

The steps by which Benito Mussolini rose to power are significant. A Socialist leader prior to the War of 1914-1918, he had been banished for a time, but favoured his country's joining the Entente Allies. Disgruntled like many of his compatriots at Italy's failure to gain all her claims at the Peace Conference, he organized the Fascist Party among war veterans and young people facing a difficult future. Economic unrest and fears of communism played into his hands. The party adopted the Roman *fasces* as its emblem, wore black shirts, and used the Roman straight-arm salute. It was roundly defeated in the 1919 election and again in 1921, but the liberal government had to depend on coalitions and was ineffective in coping with economic distress and growing unrest.

In October, 1922, the Fascists gathered in a party congress at Naples and, organized on military lines, marched on Rome. To avoid civil war, the Prime Minister resigned and the King summoned Mussolini to form a government, telling the

Chamber of Deputies that it must support the new cabinet or be dissolved. It granted Mussolini dictatorial powers for one year. In that year he extended his party organization, took control of the political, economic and military life of the nation, and made spectacular appeals for popular support. A new law in 1923 concerning elections resulted in domination by the Fascist representatives. Later, the right to vote for non-Fascist deputies disappeared. Freedom of speech and of the press was destroyed by strict press censorship, an extensive spy system, summary tribunals for political offenders, and a rigid control of education. Local administration came completely under the control of officials appointed by Mussolini's government. Personal liberty had been replaced by obedience to Il Duce (the leader).

MUSSOLINI
Il Duce in a typical pose, haranguing the Italian populace.

As in Russia, the revolutionary party controlled the state. The Fascist party was only a minority of the people, but its Grand Council was chosen by and presided over by the Prime Minister (Mussolini) and included his ministers. The government's policy was the policy of the party, which also nominated the members for election to parliament and, after

1928, had supervision over constitutional changes, the succession to the throne, foreign and military affairs, and justice.

The Fascist Economic Organization. The Corporate State. The Fascist state took control of economic life. Lockouts and strikes were both made illegal, and special tribunals were set up to settle industrial disputes. A Labour Charter defined the relations between labour and capital. Syndicates of employers, employees and professional men had been authorized, and these were given power to fix conditions of work and wages. While the government took over banks, railways, foreign trade and industries important to defence, private enterprise remained. The recognized syndicates were coordinated into twenty-two "corporations", whose representatives formed the National Council of Corporations to advise the government in planning the economy of the state (1930). In 1939 it supplanted the Chamber of Deputies in nominal control of Italian government but, like it, remained completely under the control of the Fascist Party.

Fascist Nationalism and Expansion. The Fascists preached aggressive nationalism, arguing that greatness comes only through constant struggle and that national discipline and loyalty are the highest virtues. Mussolini aimed at an Italian sphere of influence in the Balkans and colonial expansion in North Africa. Treaties of friendship and neutrality were made with the smaller nations of central and south-eastern Europe in the hope of winning them from French influence and gaining their trade—hopes which were largely unrealized. He became more and more bellicose in his public utterances, especially towards France. He talked loudly of making the Mediterranean once again, as in ancient times, Italy's *Mare Nostrum.*

Italians had never forgotten their defeat by Abyssinia. In the late 1920's Mussolini began diplomatic manoeuvres to establish Italian ascendancy there. Abyssinia's emperor proved stubborn, so border incidents were made an excuse to send large forces to Italian Somaliland and Eritrea. The emperor's appeal to the League of Nations and the League's imposition of economic sanctions failed, as we have seen, to prevent the Italian conquest of Abyssinia (1935-1936).

After the Abyssinian affair Italian feeling that Britain and France were opposed to his policy of territorial aggrandizement induced Mussolini to begin to draw closer to Hitler, of whose aggressive designs he had hitherto been wary.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter the dates given in the text in your time chart under "Political Developments in Europe", "International Relations" and "Territorial Changes".

2. Show how the natural resources, traditions of communal action, and nationalist policy have aided the operation of the three Five Year Plans in the U.S.S.R.

3. How can you account for the decision of Mussolini to throw his country into alliance with Germany and Japan?

CHAPTER XXXIV

TOTALITARIAN EXPERIMENTS (1917-1939)

II. GERMANY: THE APPROACH OF WAR

The German Revolution (1918) and the Weimar Republic. Liberal elements had never proved strong enough in Germany to retain power. They had sought the unification of Germany but it had been achieved by the authoritarian elements in German life, with their policies of "blood and iron". Following Germany's defeat in 1918, German liberals were to fail again.

On November 9, 1918, William II abdicated and a Provisional Government was set up under Friedrich Ebert, leader of the Social Democratic Party. A National Assembly at Weimar drew up a new constitution which asserted freedom of speech, press, religion, and education, and provided for a legislature of two houses, the Reichsrat representing the states and the Reichstag elected by universal male suffrage, with a president elected every seven years and a ministry under a chancellor appointed by the president but responsible to the Reichstag.

The new government began against heavy odds, opposed on the one hand by reactionaries and on the other by a small but violent Communist Party. It soon had to put down risings by both. The new regime was associated by many Germans with the submission of Versailles which, however deserved it may have been, they hated.

Following Germany's announcement that she could not meet her financial obligations to the Allies, France occupied the Ruhr in January 1923. Occupation failed to bring the results which France desired. The next year a Reparations

Commission fixed new terms of settlement, one of which was that France should withdraw from the Ruhr. Large loans enabled German currency, which had been disastrously inflated, to be stabilized. The Locarno Pact followed in 1925 and Germany joined the League of Nations in 1926. Three years later her reparations were drastically reduced and in 1930, five years before the stipulated time, the last foreign garrison left German soil. But the depression, which then hit many countries, played in Germany into the hands of a revolutionary party, the National Socialists.

Hitler and the Rise of National Socialism. Adolf Hitler, an Austrian by birth, came like Mussolini from obscure beginnings and fought in the First World War. Later in Munich he discovered his gifts as an organizer and orator in the German Workers' Party, which became the National Socialist (or Nazi) Party, adopting the swastika as its emblem and the straight-arm salute. Its organized Black Shirts (S.S.) and Brown Shirts (S.A.) began to disrupt meetings of other parties by violence. After an abortive *putsch* (rising) in Munich in 1923, the Nazi leaders, including Hitler, were imprisoned. During the 1920's the party grew slowly, but it gained financial support of industrial and landed magnates upon whose fear of Communism Hitler played adroitly.

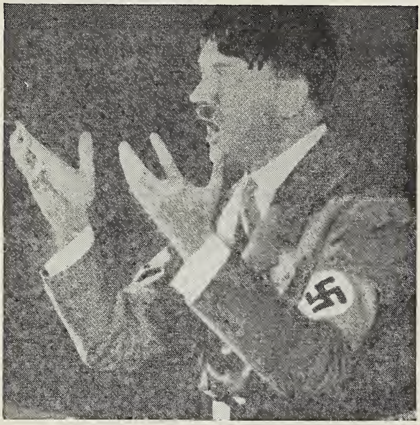
In successive elections during the depression years of the early 1930's it grew to be much the strongest of the half-dozen major parties in the Reichstag. It joined forces with the Prussian landed aristocracy (the Junkers) and large industrialists in a nationalist front which induced the aged president, Field Marshal Von Hindenburg, to accept Hitler as Chancellor.

Germany's last free election was in March 1933. Hitler prepared for it by an all-out attack on the Communists. When the Reichstag was burned a week before the election, the blame was placed on them. The National Socialist Party further increased its strength. By July Hitler felt strong enough to end his coalition with the Nationalists and make a Nazi Ministry. Most of the opposition members were now in jail through the banning of Communism, and in Prussia of the Social Democratic Party as well. The last step in establishing a Nazi Party Dictatorship was the election of November 1933, when only National Socialist candidates were allowed to run.

The following summer the threat of an opposition showing its head among disgruntled S.S. troopers was met by a blood purge of their leaders for which Hitler took full responsibility. When Hindenburg died in August the offices of President and Chancellor were united. Hitler was the supreme Fuehrer (leader) of the German Reich.

National Socialism and the Hitler Technique. Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, written in prison after the Munich *putsch*, and the party programme drawn up in 1920, revealed the basic principles of the National Socialist state. Aryan racial superiority, Hitler argued, demanded that the race be cleansed of alien taints, particularly Jewish. All Germans must be welded into a greater Germany including those in Austria, Czechoslovakia, and the former colonies. For the prosperity of this greater Germany and the benefit of its master race, new territory must be acquired and economic hegemony established over Europe. To these ends a strong centralized authority must control every phase of national life, the national economy be made self-sufficient, and the Versailles Treaty repudiated. A strong military force must be created to carry through his programme and the masses be won by constant propaganda.

To make this programme possible Germans were schooled to the cruelty, ruthlessness and loyalty to the tribal chief of a barbaric society. "Heil Hitler" became not merely the universal greeting, but the universal symbol of enforced submission and enforced obeisance to the dictator. Concentration camps were set up for political opponents, who were ferreted out by a Gestapo or secret military police. Gone were all personal liberties of speech, press, religion, and association, and all chance of a fair trial. The Hitler regime became totalitarian, utterly arbitrary in its aims, pagan in its philosophy, and brutal in its methods. The Reichstag, which had signed away its legislative powers, merely furnished an audience to Nazi leaders, particularly Hitler, whose frenzied mob appeals sounded raucously from radios the world over.


HITLER HARANGUES HIS PARTY IN 1942

Hitler had a profound contempt, not only for the German masses whom he bullied and cajoled and flattered as "the master race" but still more for the people of the democracies whose capacity for straight thinking and effective action he alike despised. He worked on the principle that the bigger the lie, the more surely would it be believed, and moved steadily towards his goal, step by step, with constant promises that the next step would be the last. The world-wide depression helped him. At home it gave him the chance to claim credit for removing unemployment. Abroad it meant that the nations could not muster the resources or achieve the act of will needed to stop him in his early aggressions.

Germany Re-arms and Militarizes the Rhineland. He began by announcing that he had no aggressive aims, desiring merely to restore Germany to her rightful position as a great nation.

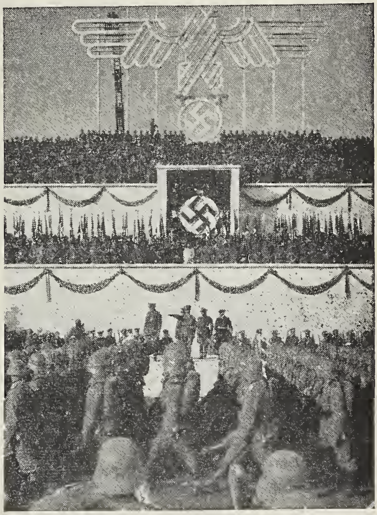
In 1933 he withdrew Germany from the Disarmament Conference and gave notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations. In 1935 he announced military conscription that would give Germany an army of 500,000 men. He declared that the re-arming of Germany was intended "exclusively for defence and thereby for the maintenance of peace." To reassure Britain, he made a naval pact with her that the German navy should not exceed thirty-five per cent. of the British. The British government did not insist on any clause about submarines. France, Russia and Czechoslovakia replied by making defence agreements. Poland, fearful of both her great neighbours, had already in 1934 made with Germany a non-aggression pact for ten years.

In 1936, with the Abyssinian problem troubling the international scene, Hitler seized the occasion to denounce the Locarno Pact and militarize the Rhineland. This so strengthened Germany's strategic position as to prevent effectively the armed intervention which the Western Powers might have used. Their failure to uphold the Versailles settlement on this occasion, by whatever means might have been necessary, ended all possibility of dealing with Germany on the basis of that settlement.

The Anti-Comintern Pact and the Rome-Berlin Axis (1936). The Spanish Civil War(1936-1939). Posing as the champion of a free Europe against Communism as embodied in the U.S.S.R., Hitler in 1936 made the Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan and drew Italy into a Rome-Berlin Axis. The next year Italy adhered to the Anti-Comintern Pact.

Troops and planes were sent from Germany and Italy to help General Francisco Franco and his Phalangists (the Spanish brand of Fascists) in their fight to overthrow the new Popular Front government in Spain, which was receiving support from Russia. The Spanish Civil War was officially insulated by international agreements for non-intervention, but actually it became the testing-ground for new implements of war and the tactical problems in their use. In the summer of 1939, the war over, a new regime, modelled on the Italian Fascist State, was inaugurated in Spain under Franco as El Caudillo (the Chief).

The Third Reich Annexes Austria. The break-up of Austria-Hungary by the peace settlement of 1919 destroyed Vienna's position as a great metropolis and left it merely the capital of a small state, whose citizens, being mostly German in speech, would then have liked to improve their lot by union (Anschluss) with Germany, had not the Allies prevented it, fearful of the stronger Germany that it would make. Austria's economic position improved, however, with assistance from the League of Nations, and the rise of National Socialism in Germany turned most Austrians against union.



HITLER REVIEWS HIS LEGIONS IN THE BERLIN STADIUM

There was an Austrian Nazi party which wanted union, but that party was outlawed. Unfortunately the government which outlawed it also overthrew constitutional government, suppressed the Social Democrats, and established a dictatorship. In 1934 the Nazis murdered its leader, but failed to set up a government, partly because of Mussolini's stout opposition to an extension of German control to the Italian border. Hitler disclaimed any knowledge of the plot once its failure was apparent.

By the spring of 1938 Mussolini's own aggressive policies had isolated him elsewhere and compelled him to draw closer to Hitler in the Rome-Berlin Axis. He was thus no longer in a position to oppose Hitler in Austria and the latter could move. The Austrian chancellor tried to resist Nazi pressure, but Hitler demanded the appointment of a Nazi government, German troops marched in, and Austria became part of the Reich.

Czechoslovakia and the Sudeten Question. Next Hitler picked a quarrel with Czechoslovakia over the Sudetenland, Czechoslovakia's northern mountainous border, containing a German minority whose prosperous luxury manufacturers had suffered severely in the depression and among whom Nazi propaganda had consequently made rapid headway. Czech attempts to win their loyalty by concessions increased their demands for complete autonomy. To grant it would mean Czechoslovakia's loss of her natural and fortified frontier against Germany.

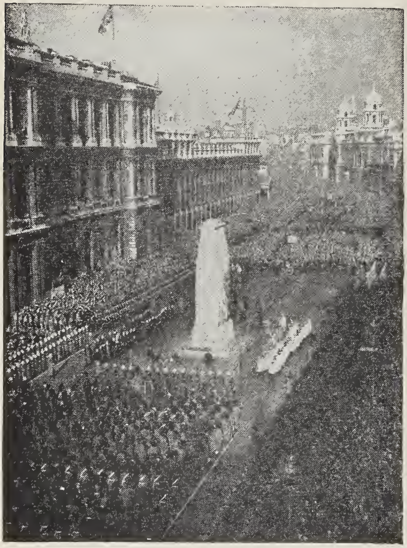
Hitler hoped to overawe the Czechs and make them yield the Sudetenland by a show of force. When first he tried in May, 1938, they took drastic measures of defence and he drew his forces back. He continued, however, to press demands, which were now frankly for annexation. Britain and France, while protesting to Hitler at the severity of his demands, urged the Czech government to make some territorial concessions. Hitler's demands, however, grew as negotiations proceeded and he threatened to make them good by force. Britain and France, having hitherto indicated that they would not go to war over the issue, now announced that they would do so if he attacked Czechoslovakia. He countered by an ultimatum demanding acceptance of all his demands by October 1.

Appeasement at Munich (September 1938). On appeals from President Roosevelt and Mussolini for further negotiations and an offer by Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain of Great Britain to fly once more to Germany (he had already flown twice to see Hitler) Hitler consented to confer again. Chamberlain, Mussolini, and the French Premier Daladier, met with him at Munich on September 29. Russia, at Hitler's insistence, was not invited, a fact which left her suspicious of all the participating powers. Hitler agreed to accept a settlement by which Germany received the Sudetenland on a promise to guarantee Czechoslovakia's new borders, which were also guaranteed by Britain and France against unprovoked aggression. Part of the border was to be determined by an international commission and provision was made for exchange of populations.

Czechoslovakia, along with the great powers, had avoided war for the moment, but she had lost a strategic frontier region. Poland had seized the opportunity to occupy Teschen on the northeast, and Hungary received a bit of Slovakia.

Appeasement of aggression had reached its climax. War weariness, pacifism and economic depression had rendered ineffective more than one attempt to unite against the forces of aggression. These facts do much to explain, if they do not excuse, the delay of the democracies in rising to meet it. But we must also remember that while it is easy to advocate intervention in the abstract, a free world must be one in which nations do not intervene in the internal affairs of other nations until the latter become a threat to general freedom. Many people throughout the world believed that the German insistence concerning the Sudeten question was justified by the fact that so many of the Sudetens were of German race. If Hitler kept his promise that this was the end of his territorial demands, perhaps peace could be saved.

The strategic importance of the Munich settlement, of which much was made by some of its critics, was, in reality, slight, for the absorption of Austria into the German Reich had already opened the southern gateway for German invasion of Czechoslovakia. Politically, however, its importance cannot be overemphasized. The world watched to see if Germany would keep her Munich pledge. It was obvious to the observant that if she failed to do so, appeasement would no longer be of any use.



THE TWENTIETH ARMISTICE DAY IN LONDON
Memorial service at the Cenotaph
November 11, 1938

Within a few weeks Hitler showed his cynical disregard of world opinion by widespread and open persecution of the Jews as a convenient object against which to arouse hatred and violence among his people. He also ignored details of the Munich agreement concerning the determination of the new frontier and took what he wanted. In March, 1939, German troops moved into the republic, in complete disregard of Hitler's Munich promise that he sought no further annexations. Bohemia and Moravia were annexed. Slovakia became a protectorate. It was at last clear that Hitler could be checked only by force.

The End of Appeasement. Germany Attacks Poland. The British Commonwealth and France Go to War (September 1939). Hitler selected Poland, with which he had recently made a pact of non-aggression, as his next victim, launched a campaign of anti-Polish propaganda, and began to pick a quarrel with that country. Britain and France abandoned the policy of appeasement, having decided that no matter how perilous action might be without world support, the issue could no longer be postponed; and they pledged aid to Poland, Greece, Roumania and Turkey if Germany attacked them. In April Britain adopted peacetime conscription for the first time.

Hitler denounced Germany's non-aggression pact with Poland and made a firm military alliance with Mussolini, who had seized the occasion of this troubled year to annex Albania. British and French missions conferred with the Soviet government but failed to make an alliance. In August the U.S.S.R. made a ten-year non-aggression treaty with Germany. It seemed to guarantee the latter against a two-front war, and gave Russia time to prepare for a future conflict.

German forces invaded Poland on September 1, without a prior declaration of war. Great Britain and France declared war on Germany on the third, and the other nations of the British Commonwealth, except Eire, quickly followed.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter the dates given in the text in your time chart under "Political Developments in Europe", "International Relations" and "Territorial Changes".

2. Leaders of totalitarian states have found the most fertile field for their ideas in the minds of the youth of their nations. Consider the emphasis placed on youth training in Russia, Italy and Germany under the dictatorships. (NOTE: You may find Ziemer's *Education for Death* a helpful reference for this study.)

CHAPTER XXXV

THE SECOND WORLD WAR OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Poland is Overrun (September 1939). Russia Strengthens Her Western Frontiers. In a few weeks German forces overran western Poland in a *blitzkrieg* (or lightning war) made possible by mechanized ground forces and overwhelming attack from the air. Resistance was gallant but unequal to the task, and the Western powers were unable to get aid to the Poles or to create diversions in the West in time to save Poland.

The independence of Polish territory was ended all the more quickly because Russian forces moved in from the east and soon the Russian and German armies had divided the country between them.

In October Russia obtained mutual assistance treaties with Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania by which she acquired naval and air bases. In June the U.S.S.R. occupied these countries. Hitler's government made the best it could of the situation, and the German elements in the populations of these lands, which had mostly been there for centuries, were moved to Germany. Finland fought Russia rather than yield to her demands. By March, Russia forced her, after unexpectedly stiff resistance, to make peace and grant her some strategically important territory. Russia was forthwith expelled from the League of Nations by the application of the definition of aggression earlier adopted at Russia's suggestion.

The Northern and Western Blitzkriegs (April-June, 1940). Notwithstanding Russia's gains, Germany had stabilized her eastern frontiers and when spring came she was ready to strike elsewhere. Beginning on April 9, German forces overran

Denmark, where there was no time for effective opposition, and Norway, where resistance was stiff. A month later Hitler's army and air force turned westward and overran Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Belgium in a *blitzkrieg* that opened the eyes of any who had mistakenly imagined that the war might by-pass these western democracies.

Although British aid to Norway had proved unavailing to save that land, the British and French together hoped to be able to check the westward *blitzkrieg*, but it was too rapid and overwhelming. The Germans rounded the northern end of the Maginot Line of "impregnable" defence works on France's eastern frontier between Belgium and Switzerland, drove a spearhead through the Allied armies in Belgium and north-eastern France, and soon were masters of Paris and much of the country.

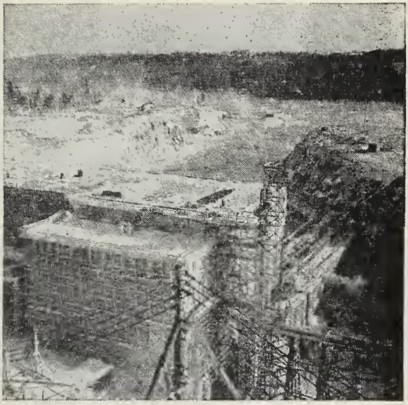
The British Government, of which Winston Churchill had now become Prime Minister, offered France political union and complete amalgamation of effort. The French cabinet decided, however, by a majority vote, to come to terms with the conqueror (June 22), surrendering northern France to German occupation and governing a fraction of the country from Vichy as the half-fascist tools of German policy, under the presidency of the anti-British and defeatist Marshal Petain and his chief associate, Pierre Laval.

Italy Declares War (June, 1940). Other peoples were sure that Britain also must soon go down. So Italy, hitherto neutral in spite of her alliance with Germany, declared war on June 10 while France was falling. The action was characterized over the radio by a British cabinet minister and later in the day by President Roosevelt as "a stab in the back".

Dunkirk (May 29-June 4, 1940). Belief in many countries that Britain would soon fall had been strengthened by disaster to her expeditionary force at the end of May. Hemmed in, with considerable French forces, against the coast at Dunkirk, its position looked hopeless. The Channel fortunately was calm and the R.A.F. guarded the skies over the beaches while day after day for five days the Navy, with hundreds of small civilian craft from the English ports, bore away the beleaguered troops under enemy fire. Most of the men to the number of 335,000 were rescued, although their equipment had to be left behind. The disaster was less serious than if the men had been lost, but Britain's position was now indeed perilous. Yet instead of accepting the verdict of the neutral world that they must surely soon be conquered, the British people, civilians and armed forces alike, faced their grave crisis with stout hearts.

Winston Churchill's Leadership. Winston Churchill had become Prime Minister the day the Germans invaded Holland. He told the people frankly then, "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat". After Dunkirk he made no attempt to hide from them the desperate prospect; on June 4 he rallied the nation with words of defiance to the enemy: "We shall defend our island whatever the cost may be. We shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills, we shall never surrender." On June 18, as France was going down, he voiced the nation's and the Commonwealth's challenge to the dangers ahead: "Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say: This was their finest hour".

The British Commonwealth and Empire Hold Fast. Britain did not have to stand alone. Throughout the Commonwealth and the dependent Empire preparations had been going ahead. Canada had already sent her First Division to England in December. Part of this had been for a time in France, but it rejoined the rest in England when France was defeated. This Canadian Division was highly mechanized and for some time after Dunkirk was the only Division in the country fully equipped to meet invasion. As time went on the dominions and India and many of the colonies were to contribute largely, not only in armed forces but in production of munitions and other needs of the forces and the people of Britain.



SHIPSHAW HYDRO-ELECTRIC PLANT UNDER CONSTRUCTION IN WINTER

One of the world's largest water-power projects, rushed to meet war needs.

Canada's production exceeded so greatly what her own large forces could use and what Britain and her other associates could pay for in the regular way that she voted in 1942 a billion dollar gift to Britain, which was followed later by a policy of Mutual Aid under which supplies were furnished to Commonwealth countries and to Allies, without repayment except the advantage that they were used in the common cause.

At the beginning of the war the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was launched co-operatively by the governments of Great Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. By it, under the direction of the Canadian Ministry of Defence for Air, training schools for air crew and ground crew were developed across Canada, which rapidly became, as President Roosevelt called it, "the aerodrome of democracy".

The Commonwealth's European Allies. Britain still had European allies. Their governments-in-exile, in London, directed their shipping, their colonies, and such forces as could be mobilized outside their homelands to aid in the common cause. Though the government of France had surrendered, a Free French Committee under General Charles de Gaulle became in London the rallying point for Free French everywhere. When the Vichy government refused to surrender or intern the French Navy, Britain took drastic action, seized a number of ships at Alexandria and sank several in the port of Oran, to prevent their falling into enemy hands. North Africa and part of West Africa preserved allegiance to Vichy as did Indo-China and some scattered small

R.G.T.

PRE-WAR LONDON FROM WATERLOO BRIDGE

Seen from across the Thames, the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral dominates its surroundings. The river is still an artery of traffic for the metropolis that has grown up on its banks.

possessions, but tropical French Africa supported the Free French as allies of the British, Vichy control was driven out of Syria, and a Free French naval force took over the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, south of Newfoundland.

On June 12, 1941, there was held in London the first formal inter-Allied meeting of representatives of the governments of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia, and the representatives of General de Gaulle, leader of Free Frenchmen. "Engaged together in the fight against aggression," they pledged mutual assistance in the struggle and asserted that

> The only true basis of enduring peace is the willing co-operation of free peoples in a world in which, relieved of the menace of aggression, all may enjoy economic and social security; and that it is their intention to work together, and with other free peoples, both in war and peace to this end.

The Battle of Britain (August-October 1940) By that time Britain had already come through her greatest ordeal. Germany failed to invade England immediately after Dunkirk but late in the summer sought to prepare the way by concentrated attack from the air. This was met by the Royal Air Force, still small in numbers but possessing planes of high quality and crews well-trained for the task they had to do. British scientists seeking before the war a method of spotting attacking planes at a distance, had secretly invented radar. This made it possible during the aerial battle of Britain for the air crews to rise to the air only to meet attack and thus have a chance for needed rest. Fighting against heavy odds they faced the German planes day after day. Increasing numbers of Londoners had no homes except the air-raid shelters, but civilian morale stayed high. German losses in the air grew as the attack strengthened until in one day, September 15, 185 of their planes were brought down over London. This was a heavier rate of loss than they could stand. The hope to destroy London by daytime bombing had to be abandoned. Once again Churchill voiced the nation's thought when he said that "never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few".

LONDON AFTER AN AIR-RAID

Cannon Street and St. Paul's Cathedral

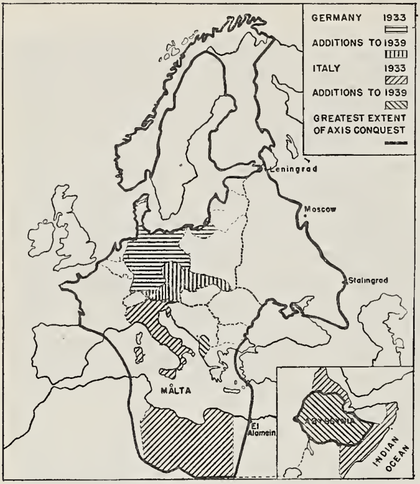
Though the mass daylight attack had been defeated, London and many other English cities continued to suffer grievously from night bombing. Incendiary bombs destroyed by fire a large part of eastern London, laying waste the area of the docks, though failing to put the port of London completely out of business. Again in May, 1941, the air blitz rose to a crescendo and, indeed, until the spring of 1945, almost on the eve of Germany's surrender, bombing of one sort or another continued, especially in the London area. In the last year, robot flying-bombs and rocket-bombs were used, devastating in their effect.

Keeping the Sea-Ways Open. If Britain was to survive it was not enough to defend her own soil. The sea-ways had to be kept open for the movement of troops and supplies. Enemy surface ships, as in the last war, were eventually driven from the oceans but German control of the coast of Europe from Norway to the Bay of Biscay made the task more difficult. The submarine was a more serious menace than in the last war, for the enemy this time had submarine bases on the Atlantic and more and better submarines. Shipping losses were heavy, particularly in the North Atlantic and the waters around Britain. Constant vigilance by sea and air patrols as well as the convoying of freighters and slower passenger and troop ships, did keep shipping moving and afloat.

A short-lived menace early in the war was the surprise weapon, the magnetic mine, deposited by aeroplane in shallow estuaries and detonated by the magnetism of a passing ship. It was countered in a short time after one drifted ashore in southern England and was examined by English scientists. Ships were soon equipped with apparatus neutralizing their magnetism and thus making the mine harmless.

The Mediterranean, the Balkans, and the Middle East. With Italy's entrance into the war, the Mediterranean-Suez route to the East was blocked, but it was essential that the Middle East itself should not pass under enemy domination. Therefore, at the very crisis of the Battle of Britain, Churchill's government sent part of the home British forces to Egypt and forces also were gathered there from Australia and New

Zealand, India and the South African Union and other parts of Africa.


GERMANY 1933
ADDITIONS TO 1939
ITALY 1933
ADDITIONS TO 1939
GREATEST EXTENT OF AXIS CONQUEST
Leningrad
Moscow
Stalingrad
MALTA
El Alamein
ABYSSINIA
INDIAN OCEAN

GERMAN AND ITALIAN EXPANSION, 1933-1942

The situation in Southern Europe and the Mediterranean was complicated when Italy attacked Greece late in 1940. The latter did not submit without a struggle, in which she inflicted humiliating defeats on the Italians, but in the spring of 1941 was overrun, as was Yugoslavia, by superior German forces, able to operate more easily there as Hungary, Roumania and Slovakia had joined the Axis in November.

Despite the impossibility of sending Greece enough aid to save her from this fate, the British government felt that the utmost possible assistance should be given, even at the expense of weakening seriously the forces in Africa. Italy's brief power in Abyssinia had already been destroyed in the spring, but the forces in Egypt, under General Wavell, having driven the Italians out of western Egypt and some distance into Libya, were pushed back into Egypt again in March. The use of large numbers in Greece which had been intended to strengthen Wavell's forces nearly proved disastrous in North Africa, but it was a necessary risk, like that taken when British units were sent to Egypt during the home crisis in 1940. Malta, though sorely beleaguered from the air, held out, and the British fleet operated with distinguished success against the Italian fleet in the eastern Mediterranean, though reinforcements and supplies had to come around the Cape of Good Hope rather than through the western Mediterranean.

If Greek resistance and British aid to the Greeks did not prevent German conquest of Greece, they nevertheless were important in helping to check the German attempt to secure the Middle East. Britain was able to forestall a Nazi coup in Syria and replace the pro-Vichy French there by Free French. Nazi designs in Iraq were also foiled. Turkey remained neutral. Germany's path to the Persian Gulf remained blocked. The resistance in Greece also delayed Germany's invasion of Russia, leaving too short a season for it to succeed as it might otherwise have done.

Germany Invades Russia (June, 1941). Germany coveted the wheat of the Ukraine and the oil of the Causasus. From southern Russia, too, she might thrust out to Iran, the Persian Gulf, and the East.

In May Russia had withdrawn recognition from German occupied states. Early in June she made a non-aggression treaty with Japan. Stalin had no reason to trust his German partner in their recent non-aggression pact, and could hardly have been surprised when Hitler launched a drive into Russia on June 22, 1941. Three days later Finland re-opened her war with the Soviet. The British Government at once announced a policy of all possible help, and a mutual aid pact with Russia was made on July 12 (replaced by a twenty-year alliance in the following year). German forces penetrated into Russia far past the border zone the latter had taken over since the war began, threatening Leningrad, Moscow, and

Kharkov, but the Russians astonished the world by checking the advance and it bogged down.

Before August was over Britain and Russia foiled Nazi designs on Iran by moving forces into that country, and British engineers began to improve its docks and railways in order that supplies might go in across Iran to Russia.

Hemisphere Isolation is Proved a Delusion. The United States was not yet engaged in hostilities, but its relation to the war was already important. President Franklin Roosevelt, before ever the war began, tried to rouse the nation to the growing dangers, and he opposed the isolationist neutrality upon which Congress insisted. Upon the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939, Congress reconsidered its stand on neutrality, and after long debate modified its recent legislation by permitting supplies to be sold to belligerents who would pay cash and carry them away. This made possible British and French contracts for American manufacture of war supplies. The government of the United States from an early date made it easy for Canadian industry to buy necessary machinery and materials for expansion of war industry. After the fall of France and the loss of British equipment at Dunkirk it facilitated sending great quantities of munitions at once to Britain. Congress, shocked by the allied disasters, voted billions for defence and men were called up for military training in large numbers.

Recognition grew rapidly in the United States that the defence of the Continent and the defence of the Atlantic were dependent upon British strength and upon Canadian co-operation as well as upon the power of the United States itself and its association with the other American Republics. A unique co-operative arrangement was reached between Washington and London by which fifty over-age destroyers, badly needed for the immediate defence of Great Britain and of the North Atlantic sea-ways, were turned over in exchange for leases of sites in the British West Indies which the United States agreed to fortify and develop as naval bases. Sites were also leased in Newfoundland and Bermuda.

Negotiated at the same time as this arrangement was the Ogdensburg Agreement (August, 1940) by which the United States and Canada set up the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, which has previously been mentioned. Canada had already been helping to defend the West Indies and Iceland, Newfoundland, the North Atlantic route, and the British Isles. Her capacity to enlarge her contribution in the war overseas was increased, as well as her home security, by this arrangement with the United States.

The Lend-Lease Act (March, 1941). The Hyde Park Declaration (April, 1941). By the following winter British purchasing power in the United States was nearly used up. Unless some way was found to continue production for British use after existing contracts were filled, many United States war plants which were dependent upon British orders would have to close down. Much American opinion favoured rendering the utmost possible aid to Britain "short of war", but ordinary loans to a belligerent were still prohibited by law. A way out was found by adopting "Lend-Lease" in March, 1941. This authorized providing war supplies to Britain and her allies, over and above those for which they could pay, by furnishing the goods themselves rather than lending the money to pay for them. Settlement would be by return of the goods or by some other adjustment to be later arranged. As time went on, "reverse lend-lease" became large, from Britain, Australia and New Zealand, Belgium, France and the Netherlands, which furnished supplies on this basis to United States forces.

Following the passage of the Lend-Lease Act, came the Hyde Park Declaration, announcing Canadian-American co-operation to co-ordinate production for war purposes. By supplying many American war-needs Canada was able to pay for her own continuing heavy purchases in the United States without the use of Lend-Lease.

The United States Enlarges Hemisphere Defence. Though the American public was still emphasizing defence as the basis of its policies, the government was extending the conception of "hemisphere defence". It established a base in Greenland in the spring of 1941 by agreement with the Danish Minister in Washington, and on July 1, 1941, assumed the garrisoning of Iceland which the British and Canadians had occupied since the previous summer. As late as August, however, when Congress debated whether to keep under arms the troops who had been trained under the measures passed in 1940, the decision to do so was made by a majority of only one vote. But in September the President ordered the American Navy to attack on sight German warships operating in the Atlantic traffic lanes. And in November Congress repealed the provisions of the Neutrality Act which hitherto had prevented American vessels from carrying supplies to Europe.

The Atlantic Charter (August, 1941). In August, unknown to the world, the American President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Churchill met in Placentia Bay off the coast of Newfoundland. After some days' consultation they announced to the world on August 14 "The Atlantic Charter" in which they voiced the common interest of their nations in the "final destruction of the Nazi tyranny" and "the common principles . . . on which they base their hopes for a better future of the world." They would work for a world order in which all mankind could move in security towards larger freedoms for individuals and peoples including "freedom from fear and want". The Atlantic Charter expressed in brief and general terms the aspirations of all peoples devoted to freedom. Its aims were incapable of quick or easy fulfilment, but they were goals towards which to strive. The Axis must first be defeated and the world made secure. The President said on reaching home that the United States was no nearer to entering the conflict, but it was now clear that its government had lined up with the nations already fighting in the cause which the Charter championed.

The War Becomes Global (December, 1941). Meanwhile Japan had secured a triple alliance with Germany and Italy (September, 1940) by which her leadership was recognized in establishing a "new order" in "Greater East Asia" and mutual aid was pledged if either party were attacked by a power not now at war with it. In the following June she made a non-aggression pact with Russia. She now felt safe to widen the range of her power in the Far East by moving forces into French Indo-China with the acquiescence of the Vichy-French government and into Thailand.

Six months after the German invasion of Russia, Japan, in a surprise attack on Pearl Harbour in the Hawaiian Islands, destroyed or damaged most of the American ships and aircraft concentrated at that base (December 7, 1941). German and Italian declarations of war on the United States followed Japan's action. The British countries and most of their allies, except Russia, immediately declared war on Japan. The war in the Far East had hitherto been isolated. It was now merged with the wider conflict, which became in reality the "World War" which a sound instinct had led the American public to call it from the day that Britain became engaged.

The United Nations and Wider Co-operation in the War (January, 1942). Pearl Harbour ended talk of United States aid "short of war". Within a few days Churchill was in Washington consulting with Roosevelt and his government. On the way home he visited Ottawa, where in an address to

Parliament to which the English-speaking world listened he stressed the community of purpose and effort among the nations fighting the Axis.

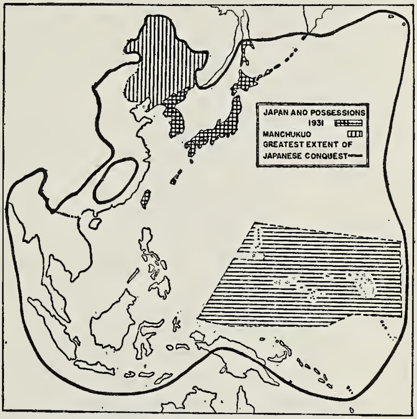
On January 2, 1942, in Washington, the representatives of the twenty-six governments at war signed a declaration of the United Nations, accepting the Atlantic Charter as an embodiment of their common principles. Later adhesions nearly doubled the number of the United Nations which were formally belligerents and a number of neutrals associated themselves with the group. On the eve of the fall of Germany in 1945 all but a few neutral countries formally declared war in order to become full members of the United Nations in time to participate in the San Francisco Conference on a world security system. In January 1942, however, there was much to be done before thought could be given to such a conference.

The British and United States governments quickly developed elaborate machinery for close co-operation in the use of their forces and the production and distribution of supplies of all sorts. The governments of other countries at war were called into consultation in such bodies as the Pacific Council and later the European Council. Canada, in view of the scale of its production, became in time a member, along with the United Kingdom and the United States, of several of the Combined Boards which served Combined Chiefs of Staff of the two great powers in co-ordinating the war effort.

In spite of this growing co-operation, however, the months following Pearl Harbour saw Axis powers extending their conquests and their attacks on land and sea.

Japan Extends Her "New Order" (1941-1942). The American disaster at Pearl Harbour and a second at Manila were matched by British loss of Hong Kong and Singapore. With American power crippled for the time being and British power almost fully occupied in other theatres of war, the Japanese rapidly extended their control across Southeast Asia to Malaya and through Burma to the border of India, and south through the Netherlands Indies and the islands of the Southwest Pacific till they threatened Australia.

But for the combined work of the Royal Navy and the first squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Force operating from Ceylon they might have repeated at Colombo, which they attacked from the air (April, 1942), their achievement at Pearl Harbour and might have gained control of the Indian Ocean. That they failed to do, and British forces proceeded to take possession of Madagascar (May, 1942) to prevent its becoming a Japanese base, and turned it over to the Free French. Australia and New Zealand were reinforced heavily from the United States.



JAPANESE EXPANSION, 1931-1942

China's plight was if anything worse than before Pearl Harbour, for with Burma in Japanese hands and the cutting of the Burma Road supplies could reach her only by air over the "big hump" of the Himalayas, by an air transport system whose expansion was delayed by difficulties in establishing adequate fueling and servicing bases in China.

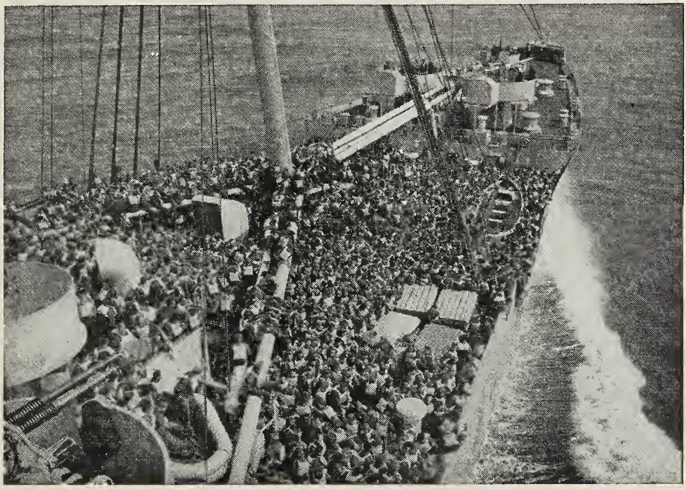
The Germans Drive to Stalingrad and the Caucasus (1942). A Russian winter offensive early in 1942 pressed the German line back all along the front stretching from Leningrad to the Sea of Azov. In the south, however, as summer dried the ground, the Germans regained the lost area and swept eastward through some of Russia's richest lands and greatest industrial areas till they reached Stalingrad on the Volga and the edge of the Caucasus oil fields. Stalingrad was the strategic point which must be held if European Russia was to stay in the war; it was held.

Egypt in Peril Again (1942). A second British drive westward from Egypt late in 1941 went even further than the drive of 1940. But the Italian-German army received strong reinforcements by way of Italy and Tunisia. Under the able German General Rommel it turned the British back in 1942, and in five months it drove them to the Egyptian border and beyond it. If this drive succeeded, and if the drive in Russia reached the Caspian, the two arms of the pincers might close on the whole Middle East.

Losses at Sea Increase. After Pearl Harbour, German submarines increased their activities in the Caribbean and along the coast of North America. As the seapower of the United States was then mostly needed in the Pacific, it was some time before an adequate convoy system could be established in United States eastern waters, even with the help of the British and Canadian navies which were already experienced in such work. The United Kingdom was for a time cut off from trans-oceanic traffic except by the northern entrance between Ireland and Scotland. Shipments to Russia by the northern route had to face heavy German attacks as well as the rigours of Arctic weather.

The United Nations Keep Control of the Main Supply Routes. Late in 1942 the tide began to turn. Fundamental to its turning was the United Nations' power at sea. Heavy as was the destruction by U-boats in the Atlantic, convoys got through by virtue of three-fold success: in the British-controlled northeast Atlantic, in the Canadian-controlled northwest Atlantic, and further south where the chief responsibility lay with the United States.

The route to the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and India around the Cape of Good Hope was also subject to attack, but was successfully guarded by the Royal Navy and the South African Army and Air Force operating under a joint staff at Cape Town.



THE *QUEEN MARY* AS A TROOP TRANSPORT

Boat drill on the forward deck. The *Queen Mary* and the *Queen Elizabeth* could each carry as many as 16,000 troops. They travelled full speed, without escort. Notice Oerlikon anti-aircraft guns in the foreground.

Across Africa communications by air were maintained, using fields already built and now enlarged by the loyal African populations of British West African and Free French colonies. American planes were delivered to the Middle East and India by this route, the United States having arranged with Brazil for Brazilian air bases to fill in the gap between the Trinidad base and West Africa.

The United States had the major responsibility for the Pacific area, aided mainly in the early stages of the war in the Pacific by Australia and New Zealand, which not only contributed their own forces and served as United Nations bases, but furnished many of the supplies (by reverse Lend-Lease) for the large American forces in the Southwest Pacific theatre of war.

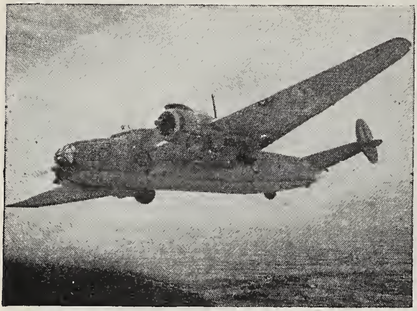
The Tide Turns in Russia. Germany's "European Fortress" Assaulted from the East. Before the end of 1942 the tide had turned at Stalingrad and the battle there ended early in February, 1943. Russia was showing remarkable powers of recovery, as the industries which had been withdrawn to the far interior came into full production, and with the help of United States Lend-Lease and of large British and Canadian shipments of military supplies under Mutual Aid. These were now flowing in an increasing stream through Iran as well as through her Arctic ports by the far northern Atlantic convoy route. Despite occasional setbacks, the Germans were pushed step by step westwards. In August 1944 the Russians invaded Roumania; in October they crossed the East Prussian frontier, and the Carpathian Mountains. Russian soil was cleared of the enemy and the task henceforth was to subdue the enemy on his own soil.

The Tide Turns in Africa and the Mediterranean. Germany's "European Fortress" Assaulted from the South. The later months of 1942 saw the tide turn again in North Africa and the Mediterranean, where General Alexander was now commander-in-chief. The British Eighth Army, under General Montgomery, made up of forces from most of the Commonwealth, pierced the Axis defences at El Alamein on November 2 and drove the Italians westward from the Egyptian border in one of the most steadily sustained drives in the history of war. An Anglo-American force under the command of the American, General Eisenhower, invaded French North Africa on

November 8 and drove eastwards from Algiers. The two joined forces in Tunisia, where organized resistance ended in May. General Eisenhower had already become supreme Allied commander in the Mediterranean with General Alexander as his deputy on land, Air Marshal Tedder in charge of air operations, and Admiral Cunningham of naval forces. Following the Allied landings in North Africa, German troops moved into "unoccupied" Vichy France. The French fleet at Toulon was scuttled to prevent it falling into German hands.

MEN OF THE EIGHTH ARMY "MOP UP" A RAILWAY STATION IN SICILY

With the relief of Malta and the re-opening of the whole Mediterranean route, the combined armies with additional reinforcements by sea (including part of the Canadian army from England), invaded Sicily in July. On September 3 they crossed the Straits to the Italian mainland and on the same day the government of Italy surrendered. There followed the slow and difficult task through the winters of 1943-1944 and 1944-1945 of pushing the German forces up the peninsula.


THE ALBEMARLE: R.A.F. GLIDER TUG (1944)
Air-borne troops were increasingly important as the war went on.

Meanwhile, British forces came to the aid of the resistance groups in Greece and the Germans were driven out. Aid was carried also to the resistance forces in Yugoslavia, which made things steadily harder for the Germans there.

The Tide Turns in Western Europe. Germany's "European Fortress" Assaulted from the West (June, 1944). The "Fortress" Falls (May, 1945). As early as August, 1942, an experimental attack on the French coast was staged at Dieppe in which Canadian forces played the major part. Lessons learned there were put to good account in the invasion of Sicily. They counted yet more in the plans for "D-Day" which came on June 6, 1944, when, after long preparations and special training in Britain, a tremendous Allied force was thrown against the coast of Normandy. This again was under the supreme command of General Eisenhower, with General Montgomery and Air Chief Marshal Tedder holding the highest military and air posts under him.

By that time the tide had been turned also in air warfare in the West. While Britain was still subject to bombing, the R.A.F., with the air forces of the Commonwealth and the

European Allies, and the United States Army Air Corps had attained superiority in the air during 1943 and now were an attacking force greater than Germany had ever wielded against Britain. Germany's transportation in the homeland as well as in occupied territories was crippled. Her synthetic oil plants, industries and ports, and the nerve centre of her power and economy at Berlin were shattered. Marshal Goering, Hitler's chief associate, had promised the Germans that their homeland would never be bombed, but it was now subjected to a weight of bombing greater than the Germans themselves had ever been able to inflict on others. They devised new "V-bombs" with which they still hoped to destroy England, but the launching-sites and the factories where these new weapons were made, were bombed repeatedly and their use thus limited.

MOPPING UP IN CAEN
After its capture by British and Canadian troops, July 1944.

All this helps to explain the speed with which after "D-Day" the armies of the Western Allies, always with air support, achieved the liberation of France and the Low Countries, and by the spring of 1945 met the forces of Russia in the centre of Germany. On May 8, 1945, the United

Nations commanders received the unconditional surrender of all German fighting forces, hostilities to cease that night.

"V-E Day" (May 8) found Europe devastated, its political and economic systems demoralized, its people threatened with starvation. Problems of maintaining order and establishing legal governments had to be faced. The United Nations outside the area of combat had to tighten their belts if the liberated peoples were to live.

AT CAIRO CONFERENCE, NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1943

Front row, left to right: Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek; President Roosevelt; Prime Minister Churchill; Madame Chiang. Back row, left to right: General Chang Chen; Lieut. General Ling Wei; Lieut. General B. B. Somervell, Commanding General U.S. Army Services Forces; Lieut. General Stillwell, Commanding General U.S. Forces in China, India and Burma; General Arnold, Commanding General U.S. Army Air Forces; Field Marshal Sir John Dill, Senior British Military Representative on the Combined Chiefs of Staffs Committee, Washington; Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, Supreme Allied Commander South East Asia; Major Carton de Wiart.

The Tide Turns in the Far East. The first United States troops landed in Australia in March, 1942, but not till

September were the United Nations in a position to take the offensive, under command of the American General MacArthur. An attack on the Japanese-occupied Solomon Islands began the process of narrowing the borders of Japan's "Co-prosperity Sphere".

Meanwhile a Japanese fleet striking towards Hawaii in June was intercepted by an American force of carriers and escorts and largely destroyed in the Battle of Midway. At the same time Japanese forces occupied Kiska and Attu in the Aleutians, from which they were not dislodged till the following summer.

Before "V-E Day" the Japanese had been pushed out of island after island in the Southwest Pacific; the Philippines had been partly re-won and islands had been gained near enough to Japan to make possible frequent and heavy air-raids on her industrial regions and ports. New Guinea, however, was yet only partly recovered by the Australians with American co-operation, and the great archipelago between that island and the Indian Ocean was still in Japanese hands.

India's contribution had become very great in man power and in industry and India was proving an essential United Nations base for the attack on Southeast Asia. Much of Burma had been recovered and there was prospect of reopening the Burma Road before long. China, too, after losing much ground to the Japanese since Pearl Harbour, had begun to gain ground again on the Burma border and against the Japanese on Chinese soil.

Japan is Overwhelmed and Surrenders Unconditionally (August-September 1945). During the summer Japan's capacity to carry on the struggle became rapidly less. The destruction of her sea power almost severed communications with her scattered forces. Her air force dwindled and many of her industrial centres were devastated by bombing. Her defeat had long been certain. It was hastened by the dropping of two atomic bombs, one on Hiroshima on August 7, the second on Nagasaki on August 9. Many nations had been working on the problem of releasing atomic energy. The problem was solved by the co-operative efforts of many hundreds of scientists working in secret under the combined auspices of the British, American and Canadian governments.

On August 8, Russia declared war on Japan in fulfilment of a promise to her allies that she would do so three months after the surrender of Germany when she should have had time to send large reinforcements to the Far East from her Western Front. Russian armies promptly invaded Manchuria.

STALIN, ROOSEVELT AND CHURCHILL AT TEHERAN, DECEMBER 7, 1943

This conference was the first meeting of Marshal Stalin and the American president. Behind Stalin is Molotov, Russia's foreign minister. Behind Roosevelt is Section Officer Oliver, Churchill's daughter. Behind Churchill is the British foreign secretary, Anthony Eden.

On August 10, Japan sued for peace. On the fourteenth, the United Nations agreed to accept the unconditional surrender of the Mikado's government. The formal surrender took place on September 2, aboard the U.S.S. *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay. General MacArthur accepted the surrender on behalf of the allies, and representatives of those nations which had fought against Japan in the war signed along with him the articles of surrender. By these Japan relinquished all her conquests of half a century and her government agreed to take orders from the victorious nations. The end of the Six

Years' War left the United Nations facing acute problems in all quarters of the Globe.

Planning for Peace. During the war the leaders of the governments of the great powers held numerous conferences. Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, and Chiang Kai-shek figured most prominently at these, though the last two, as Russia and Japan were at peace, were unable to attend at the same time. Their first concern was planning for victory, but as that became assured they gave more attention to plans for the post-war world.

A number of special United Nations conferences met to study problems such as food, relief and rehabilitation, and money and finance. Numerous organizations were built up, some of them devised for war purposes but likely to be carried over into peace, and others specially shaped to meet postwar needs.

The necessity for an international organization to maintain security was recognized at every conference of the leaders of the great powers and its broad lines gradually were laid down. In 1944 these were elaborated in a conference of experts at Dumbarton Oaks near Washington, and a United Nations conference was invited to meet at San Francisco in the spring of 1945 to discuss the problem of security on the basis of these proposals.

The San Francisco Conference was in session when Germany surrendered. After long discussions by the representatives of the United Nations, now increased to fifty, the "Charter of the United Nations" was issued in June. It provided for a new international organization to replace the League of Nations. If successful it would be an instrument through which the United Nations could maintain security and promote the welfare of mankind. Although the United States had refused to join the League of Nations, she was now the first country to ratify the new Charter.

An election in Britain resulted in victory for the Labour Party. The Coalition government headed by Winston Churchill gave way in July to a Labour government led by Clement Attlee, who had been Deputy Prime Minister in the Coalition. His leading colleagues had likewise been members of the government throughout the war. They paid tribute to Churchill's unsurpassed war-leadership, and it soon became clear that the change of government did not mean a fundamental change in policy, at any rate in foreign affairs. Mr. Churchill, now leader of the opposition, and Mr. Eden, formerly Foreign Secretary, gave their whole-hearted support to the foreign policy of the new government.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Enter the dates given in the text in your time chart under "Wars" and "International Relations".

2. On what occasions did meetings occur between some of these Allied leaders: President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, Marshal Stalin and Generalissimo Chiang? What great plans grew out of these meetings?

3. Read aloud or listen to records of some of the great speeches which have come out of World War II. These might include speeches of King George VI, Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin, de Gaulle, and Chiang Kai-shek, also of leaders in the British Dominions.

4. What methods were used by the Allies to combat or minimize the damage of U-boats?

5. What were the major difficulties in getting extensive aid to China?

CHAPTER XXXVI

DEMOCRACY, OUR WAY OF THOUGHT AND LIFE

Why Is Politics Important? Sometimes people have talked as if politics were something we should be better off without, and as if it ought to get little notice in history by comparison with the story of how people lived in their everyday life. But the dislocations of war, and the kind of thing that has happened in totalitarian countries, have reminded us lately that politics is important too, and important not merely for the politician but for the common man. The individual's personal liberties and the kind of life that he is able to live in his daily work and in his leisure hours do in fact depend largely upon the political character of the community to which he belongs, whether that community be thought of in terms of township, town, province, nation, British Commonwealth or United Nations. Politics is not the whole of history nor does it constitute the whole interest of man, but for anybody who would be the free citizen of a free society it is obviously worth while to study the workings of our political system and his own place within it as a citizen.

Democracy as a Political System and a Way of Life. Various peoples have long been experimenting with different types of political organization. In this book we have been studying, among other phases of the development of human society, the history of some of these experiments. We have observed several recent experiments in arbitrary government, some of which have been intended as stepping-stones to democracy, but others of which have been its avowed and deadly enemies.

In this chapter we shall study the nature of democracy as a system of politics and life based upon respect for the worth of the individual. As such not only does it have to safeguard the individual's liberty, but it bases political power upon his free support. In a democracy the people themselves enjoy the opportunity by their free decisions to determine the kind of government under which they shall live and the kind of policies it shall pursue.

By the root meaning of the word a democracy is a community in which the people rule. Aristotle and many other thinkers have argued that rule by the *demos* or whole people was dangerous because it was liable to become rule by the mob. We have seen in recent times how leaders like Mussolini and Hitler have in fact risen to arbitrary power supported by the passions of the mob. But in this chapter we are interested in that kind of perverted democracy only that we may see how to avoid it.

Obviously the test of a free democracy is not the mechanical test of whether the people cast a ballot. In the cases just cited a wide franchise certainly did not mean a free democracy, because the people permitted the vote to be controlled by a dictator and let him use elections merely to give his tyranny an appearance of popular support. His authority might be called "democratic" only in the sense that the *demos* had placed him in power, and connived with him in making what at first looked like a democratic franchise into a sham.

If we are not using the term democracy here in the sense of tyranny resting on the mob's support, neither are we using it as a term synonymous with republic. That is a confusion sometimes made by people living under republican constitutions, but if one looks at the facts it is obvious that many a country with an elaborate republican constitution, on paper and in the external forms of its political life, is in fact a tyranny in which governments gain office by intrigue and revolution and keep it by the sword. Some other republics, although more respectable than these in their political manners and methods, are narrow oligarchies. In short, a republic is not necessarily a democracy.

Some of the most genuine political democracies, on the other hand, of which Canada and other British countries are outstanding examples, have preserved an ancient tradition of monarchy and transformed it into a useful working part of the political apparatus of a free people. It remains and is cherished because it is more than a convenient political mechanism; it is a symbol, in concrete and personal terms and visible to all the people, of the common life which they share irrespective of party and a symbol of the continuity of their historic tradition. It reminds them that the roots of their freedom lie deep in the past, and therefore increases their confidence that their freedom will still flourish and grow.

Democracy Has Deep Historic Roots. We have seen how democracy as we know it is the result of a long historic process. Its roots began to grow when the principle was recognized that those who ruled, even if they were kings, were bound to govern according to the law, and that their subjects should have a share in making the law. Magna Carta (1215) still deserves its fame because it was a great assertion of that principle. It is true that it was not democratic—only the King's greater subjects had a hand in it, but they were champions of the principle upon which democracy later could be built.

Even in the days of the English Parliament's struggle with the arbitrary government of some of the Stuart kings, its victory was not directly a victory for democracy but rather for this principle of limiting the power of the ruler. It limited that power by making the representatives of the nation in parliament the instrument for controlling the King's government. Thus parliament's success was a long step towards the day when the democratizing of the franchise would place political control in the hands of the people in the democratic sense of that word. England's greatest contribution to the development of free institutions in the world was the preservation, through centuries when other nations, for one reason or another, found the task impossible, of this tradition of freedom in the state and its steady enlargement into the political basis of our democratic way of life.

Even before the British system acquired its modern democratic basis in the adult franchise, its value in safeguarding liberty was so widely recognized that throughout the world liberal constitutional experiments in the nineteenth century were either modelled on the British constitution or on the republican examples of the United States and France, which were themselves moulded in the main on British experience. As for the countries of the British Commonwealth, they shaped their institutions within the orbit of the British tradition itself.

That so many countries which adopted these forms of constitutional government failed to achieve a genuinely democratic system or, if they did so for a time, failed to preserve it, drives home the truth that it takes more than the letter of the law to make a free society. Democratic freedom is not to be easily come by. The conditions necessary for its preservation and growth are hard to establish and where its roots are not deep it is easily destroyed. Even where its roots are deep it needs constant cultivation and wise care to keep it flourishing.

Political Democracy a Means to an End. We must remember that democracy as a method of government is not an end in itself so much as a means of securing a free life and a full life for the individuals who make up society. The existence of a wide franchise is part of the freedom of the citizen, indeed it is his central "political liberty". But it is important not for its own sake but as the means of safeguarding his "civil liberties", and enabling him to work politically for the welfare of the community.

"Civil liberties" assure to the citizen who enjoys them the opportunity to live his own life free from fear of arbitrary interference with his personal conduct. So long as he does not infringe the rights of others, he is free to express himself in speech or in the press not merely on private matters but on questions of public policy and official action. He is free to advocate that in which he believes and to oppose what he condemns. He is free to associate publicly with others in political parties or in other groups not only for study and free discussion but that their members may champion together those causes which they wish to support. He is free to join with others in petitioning public authorities. Above all he is free in the realm of his deepest convictions to worship God according to his own beliefs.

If he is to possess these civil liberties his government must protect him in their exercise against any of his fellow-citizens who would infringe them or take them away, and he must be restrained from violating them himself. The individual also requires protection by law from arbitrary action by public authorities against his person or his property, and assurance of fair and open trial according to the law of the land.

The growth and preservation of these personal liberties have a long historic connection with the growth of political liberty in the sense of enjoying a share in political power. It was learned long ago that civil liberties are endangered by arbitrary power in the hands of rulers. If civil liberties are to be secure, rulers must respect the law and they must be responsible to the ruled. That means that the latter must have a share in making laws and in authorizing taxation and must also have power to change their rulers by lawful means when they so choose. Therefore the democratic franchise is most important as the safeguard of the liberties of the individual.

Democracy is not a perfect system. Sometimes it fails. It reflects the character and the capacity of the people who make it up and on whom therefore it depends. But, while it is limited, like all human institutions, by the imperfections of human beings, it has been found in the long run to be the kind of government most consistent with the growth of freedom. Our own nation has fought two wars in a generation to preserve the possibility for further growth of democracy in our own society and in the world. Victory in war is not enough nor is it enough to be ready still to defend our democratic freedom. If democracy is to have a chance to grow, if indeed it is to survive, we must understand what it is based on, and we must appreciate the difficulties in operating it and in keeping it alive and vigorous.

The Democratic Programme. While a society is still in process of achieving political democracy the emphasis in political controversy is largely on questions of political and civil liberties. With the full achievement of political democracy all parties have come to recognize that the power of the democratic state must be used to promote the economic security and the material and cultural well-being of all its people.

Representative Government. Only in the simplest and smallest societies is it possible for every member to have a direct voice in community affairs. Early democracies were of this type, and in some democratic countries today the local town meeting preserves that ancient tradition. Many non-political local organizations are run on that principle. The invention of representative government made possible the application of democracy in larger national communities.

Discussion and Persuasion as Democracy's Methods. Alike in the simple direct democracy of the town meeting and in representative democracy an essential feature is the free discussion of public affairs. This is the fundamental method of democracy.

It is a mistake to think of discussion as simply voicing differences of view. Explanation, argument and persuasion are all important elements. These must be matched by willingness to adjust one's own views so far as possible to meet the point of view of others. Where views remain different it is sometimes possible in discussion to work out a plan to which all can agree. If that is not possible the majority view must prevail at least for the time being.

Discussion often helps those who take part in it to understand questions better and thus to find more intelligent solutions. The final result of debate in Parliament is often not a simple victory for one point of view over another. Indeed, often the policy finally adopted is the result of contributions from different points of view, and therefore better. Thus, though parliamentary debates sometimes seem to fumble and move slowly, they are even then a useful part of democratic government.

Political Parties. In democratic politics, parties are necessary if people who have many ideas in common are to influence government policy. A government needs a party supporting it if it is to be able to put its policies into effect. If elections are to be a real check upon those in power, an opposition party is also needed, ready to replace the government if the opposition can persuade the electorate to support its programme. Debates between parties, on the one hand defending and on the other criticizing the policies and administration of the government, bring discussion to a focus for the whole nation.

In times of national crisis those of different parties may be so caught up in a common cause that coalition or national government becomes proper and useful, but any attempt to preserve such a situation artificially by preventing political opposition from showing itself destroys democratic freedom. This is a truth that we are not likely to forget if we recall what has happened in this century in states where political opposition has been banned. In such cases not merely has the freedom of the ballot disappeared, but the whole range of civil liberties has been destroyed.

Difficulties in the Democratic Method. Demagogues and Doctrinaires. The Ordinary Citizen and the Expert. The chief difficulty and danger of the democratic method lies in the very fact that the franchise is so wide. Many voters are indifferent to their responsibility as citizens. Some are so lacking in intelligence and honesty that they are amenable to corrupt practices. Many who have not taken the trouble to understand democracy, are impatient with the democratic process and unreasonably dissatisfied with its results. Such voters as these are dangerous to democracy. The fact that democracy involves free discussion makes it easy for false leaders, using the arts of advertising and salesmanship, and dealing in bogeys and cure-alls, to win support by false promises and by holding out illusory hopes.

The demagogue (or leader of the mob) is unscrupulous in his promises, shaping his platform to catch votes without any care as to whether his promises are possible of fulfilment or are really in the public interest. Equally dangerous is the well-meaning doctrinaire, honest in intention, who thinks he has the answer to the world's difficulties but ignores inconvenient facts, lets theories run away with him, in other words lacks practical sense. The sincerity of his own conviction sometimes makes his appeal to the wishful thinking of the voters more dangerous than the clap-trap of the conscious demagogue, whose tongue-in-the-cheek makes him more easily recognized by the public. Demagogues and doctrinaires have offered their nostrums in times past, but they have become an increasing menace as wider literacy and new means of communication such as the film and the radio have made it easier and easier to catch the eye and ear of the masses.

Another growing danger to democracy is the expert. The widening reach of government activity in recent years has made governments increasingly dependent upon experts in many branches. The expert is necessary, but often he knows only his own special field and has not related it to the general field of public welfare. Yet because he knows so much more about the technical details of his problem than the general public can know, he sometimes thinks that he should be given power to go ahead arbitrarily without any regard for the rights of the public. The difficulty of keeping the expert administrator under due control as the servant and not the master of the state has caused concern in recent years to many distinguished students of government.

A further difficulty in keeping politics fully democratic arises when leadership in a party organization falls into the hands of a narrow clique or "political machine" which manipulates party nominations and party funds for its own ends. An alert and active body of voters can insist if they like upon democratic management of party affairs. They can do this more easily if party campaign funds are derived from contributions by many people interested in good government rather than by a few whose large contributions may give them a claim to influence party policy unduly.

Leadership and Citizenship in a Democracy. If democracy is to live and flourish the people must continue to choose leaders who are neither demagogues nor doctrinaires, leaders who will act wisely in the light of expert knowledge but remember that the people not the experts have the final say. They must be eager to interpret the desires of the people and at the same time be men of principle. They will recognize the need for compromise and be willing to go far to secure it, but will refuse to betray their convictions in order to win office. They should not merely follow what they think is public opinion but should shape the wisest policies they can and try to persuade the people to endorse them.

Upon the quality of its leadership depends much of the success of democracy, but upon the quality of the people who make up the democracy depends the sort of leadership they will obtain. There is much truth in the old saying that people get the sort of government that they deserve. Democracy is the most difficult of all systems of government. It is based on respect for the individual, but it also makes demands upon him. If he is to enjoy the liberties which it strives to guarantee and the welfare which it seeks to assure him, he must be not only jealous for his rights but eager to shoulder his duties.

Tolerance and sympathy for his fellowmen, in his own country and in other lands, must govern his feelings towards them and his respect for their different ways of life, personal and national. He must never forget that his interest is interlocked with theirs and theirs with his. Knowing that public policies greatly affect the welfare of other men as well as his own, he will strive to understand the problems facing his community and will use his best wisdom in exercising the franchise by which his representatives in government are chosen. He will be vigilant in calling them to account for the trust the people have placed in them. He will desire to play his full part in community enterprises in general and in politics in particular as a means of serving the society in which he lives.

The good citizen in a democracy will not think of democracy as a system contrived in order that he may get out of society all that he can, but as a system in which it is his high privilege as a citizen to bear his share in making his local community, his nation, and the world, a better place for his fellows and for those who shall come after. He is aware that to do so will need thought, and toil, and courage, the best that he can command. He knows that it is not by chance that freedom is his heritage, but by the "blood, toil, tears and sweat" of his fellowmen. He will pass that heritage on richer, in so far as he can, than when it came to him. He realizes that to do so will require his constant vigilance and devotion as truly in time of peace as during the crisis of war.

SUGGESTION

1. Our democracy gives the people of the country the right to determine their own government through their control of parliament in elections. What are some other ways through which the people may make their influence felt upon the government?

BOOKS RECOMMENDED[1]

No one could presume to select the best books in this period. But these are recommended as good books. They have been chosen, for the most part, in relation to the topics dealt with in the text. The authors do not guarantee the accuracy of the historical fiction.

FOR THE WHOLE PERIOD

Adams, J. T.: Epic of America (*Routledge-Musson*) $2.75
Bolton, S. K.: Famous Men of Science (*Crowell - Clarke, Irwin*) $2.50
Brogan, D. W.: U.S.A. and Britain
Burt, A. L.: A Short History of Canada for American Readers (*University of Michigan Press*)
Cheyney, S. P.: Readings in English History (*Ginn*) $3.00 net
Cotterill, R. S.: A Short History of the Americas (*Prentice-Hall*)
Creighton, D. G.: Dominion of the North (*Allen*) $4.50
Darrow, Floyd: The Story of Chemistry (*McClelland*) O/P
Dietz, F. C.: An Economic History of England (*Holt - Clarke, Irwin*) $3.75
— A Political and Social History of England (*Macmillan*) $3.90
Elton, Lord: Imperial Commonwealth (*Collins*) $5.00
Flenley, Ralph: Makers of the Nineteenth Century (*Dent*) $2.00
Hammond, J. L. & B.: Lord Shaftesbury (*Penguin Books*)
Hancock, W. K.: Australia (*Benn*) O/P
Hartman, G.: Machines and the Men Who Made the World of Industry (*Macmillan*) $2.50
Harvey, D. C.: The Colonization of Canada (*Clarke, Irwin*) $ .75
Hazen, C. D.: Modern European History (*Holt - Clarke, Irwin*) O/P
Henderson, E. F.: Short History of Germany (*Macmillan*) $6.50
Hockett, H. C. & Schlesinger, A. M.: Land of the Free (*Macmillan*) $6.00
Horrabin, J. F.: Atlas of European History (*Ryerson*) O/P
— Atlas of Empire (*Ryerson*) O/P
Leacock, Stephen: The British Empire (*Dodd-McClelland*) $1.39
Lodge, Sir Oliver: Pioneers of Science (*Stokes - Longmans*) O/P
McInnis, Edgar: The Unguarded Frontier (*Doubleday - McClelland*) O/P
McPherson, H.: Makers of Astronomy (*Oxford*) $2.25
Michell, Humphrey: Outline of Economic History (*Pitman*) $ .80
Mowat: R. B.: New History of Great Britain (*Oxford*) $1.90
Muir, Ramsey: Phillips' Historical Atlas
Nevins, Allan: Brief History of the United States (*Oxford*) $1.10
Pares, Sir Bernard: A History of Russia (*Cape - Nelson*) $4.00

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[1] No responsibility can be taken for the prices given. They were approximately correct as of 1 January, 1946.

O/P—Books marked thus are out of print. They can be obtained in public or university libraries.

Pratt, Sir John: China and Britain (*Collins*) $2.75
Quennell, M. & C. H. B.: History of Everyday Things in England (*Batsford - Copp Clark*) O/P
Robinson, Victor: The Story of Medicine (New Home Library) (*Garden City - McClelland*) $ .98
Sedgwick, H. D.: A Short History of France (*Little - McClelland*) O/P
Sheppard, W. R.: Atlas of Mediaeval and Modern History (*Holt - Clarke, Irwin*) O/P
Singer, C. J.: A Short History of Medicine (*Oxford*) $2.25
Trevelyan, G. M.: Shortened History of England (*Longmans*) $4.50
— English Social History (*Longmans*) $5.50
Williams, Basil: The British Empire, 1585-1928 (*Oxford*) $1.25
Williams, E. A.: The Story of English Life (*Coward - McCann - Longmans*) $5.50
Wittke, Carl: History of Canada (*McClelland*) $5.00

FOR TEACHERS AND FOR REFERENCE

Adams, J. T.: Empire on Seven Seas (*McClelland*)
Clapham, J. H.: Economic History of Modern Britain (*Cambridge - Macmillan*) 3 vols. $9.00 each. Vol. II O/P
Condliffe, J. B.: New Zealand in the Making (*University of Chicago Press - Gage*) O/P
Fisher, H. A. L.: History of Europe (*Arnold-Longmans*) $5.00
Knight, M. M., Barnes, H. E. & Flugel, F.: Economic History of Europe (*Allen - Nelson*) $6.75
Morison, S. E. & Commager, H. S.: Growth of the American Republic (*Oxford*) (2 vols) $10.00 set
Smith, A. N. Oxford History of India (*Oxford*)
Watson, Seton: Britain in Europe 1789-1914 (*Cambridge - Macmillan*) O/P
Williamson, J. A.: The Evolution of England (*Oxford*) $3.75
— British Empire and Commonwealth (*Macmillan*) $1.75

1500 to 1763

Bell, Douglas: Elizabethan Seamen (*Longmans*) O/P
Bodilly, R. D.: Fighting Merchantmen (*Houghton, Mifflin - Allen*) $4.00
Buchan, John: Cromwell (*Hodder & Stoughton*) O/P
Davis, W. S.: Life in Elizabethan Days (*Harper - Musson*) $4.00
Edgar, Pelham: Romance of Canadian History (extracts from Parkman) (*Macmillan*) O/P
Edmundson, G.: History of Holland (*Cambridge - Macmillan*) $7.00
Elia, ed.: Tales from Hakluyt (*Black - Allen*) O/P
Ergang, R. R.: The Potsdam Führer (*Columbia University Press*) $4.50
Firth, C. H.: Cromwell (*Putnam's - Allen*) $3.75
Geyl, P.: The Revolt of the Netherlands (*Williams & Norgate - Nelson*) $4.50
Marquis, T. G.: The Jesuit Missions (The Chronicles of Canada, Vol. 4) (*Yale - Ryerson*) $1.75
Harrison, Frederick: William the Silent (*Macmillan*) $1.10
Neale, J. E.: Queen Elizabeth (*Cape*) O/P
Parkman, Francis: Jesuits in North America (*Macmillan*) 2 vols. $4.00 each
— Montcalm and Wolfe (*Macmillan*) $4.00
Pratt, E. J.: Brébeuf and his Brethren (*Macmillan*) (Canadian limited edition) $3.00 (Poem)
Read, Conyers: The Tudors (*Holt - Clarke, Irwin*) $2.50

Richman, I. B.: The Spanish Conquerors (The Chronicles of America, Vol. 2) (*Yale - Ryerson*) $1.75
Trevelyan, G. M.: England under the Stuarts (*Longmans*) O/P
Wood, W.: Elizabethan Sea Dogs (Chronicles of America) (*Yale - Ryerson*)
Wrong, G. M.: Conquest of New France (Chronicles of America) (*Yale - Ryerson*)

FOR TEACHERS AND FOR REFERENCE

Belloc, Hilaire: How the Reformation Happened (*Cape - Nelson*) O/P
Brebner, J. B.: New England's Outpost, Acadia (*Columbia - Progress Pub. Co.*) $6.50
Black, J. B.: The Reign of Queen Elizabeth (*Oxford*) $4.50
Churchill, Winston: Marlborough: His Life and Times (*Harrap - Oxford*) O/P
Clark, G. N.: The Later Stuarts (*Oxford*) $4.50
Davies, Godfrey: The Early Stuarts (*Oxford*) $4.50
Farmer, J.: Versailles and the Court under Louis XIV (*Century - Ryerson*) O/P
Packard, L. B.: Commercial Revolution (Berkshire Studies (*Holt - Clarke, Irwin*) $1.50
Smith, P.: Age of the Reformation (*Holt - Clarke, Irwin*) $5.35
Wedgwood, C. V.: William the Silent (*Yale - Ryerson*) $3.00
Williamson, J. A.: The Age of Drake (*Black - Macmillan*) $5.00

HISTORICAL FICTION

Bowen, Marjorie: The Governor of England (*Methuen - Saunders*) O/P (Cromwell)
Brod, M.: Redemption of Tycho Brahé (*Knopf - Ryerson*) O/P (Kepler)
Buchan, John: Blanket of the Dark (*Murray - Musson*) O/P
— Path of the King (*Murray - Musson*) O/P
Cather, Willa: Shadows on the Rock (*Knopf - Ryerson*) $3.00 (New France)
Craine, E. J.: Conquistador (*Duffield - Dodd, Mead*) (Spanish Conquerors in America)
Curwood, J. O.: Plains of Abraham (*Copp Clark*) $ .50
Dumas, Alexandre: The Three Musketeers (*Harrap - Oxford*) $2.75
Haggard, H. R.: Montezuma's Daughter (*Carter - Longmans*) O/P (Cortes)
Irwin, Margaret: Young Bess (*Chatto - Oxford*) $3.00 (Elizabeth)
Johnson, M.: To Have and To Hold (*Houghton - Allen*) O/P (American Colonies)
Kelly, E. P.: From Star to Star (*Lippincott - Longmans*) $2.50 (Copernicus)
Kingsley, Charles: Westward Ho! (*Harrap - Oxford*) $2.75 (Elizabeth)
Major, Charles: When Knighthood was in Flower (*Ryerson*) O/P (Henry VIII)
Marshall, R.: None but the Brave (*Allen*) $2.50 (Siege of Leyden)
Mason, A. E. W.: Fire over England (*Hodder & Stoughton*) O/P (Elizabeth)
McDowell, F. D.: Champlain Road (*Macmillan*) $1.49 (Jesuits, Maine, Canada)
Orczy, Baroness: Leatherface (*Hodder & Stoughton*) O/P (Revolt of the Netherlands)
Swanson, N. H.: Silent Drum (*Farrar - Oxford*) O/P (Colonial Pennsylvania)
Weyman, Stanley: Under the Red Robe (*Murray - Musson*) O/P (Richelieu)

1763 to 1850

Cecil, A.: Metternich (*Macmillan*) O/P
Coupland, R.: British Anti-Slavery Movement (*Oxford*) $1.00
— Wilberforce (*Oxford*) $4.75
Fisher, H. A. L.: Napoleon (*Oxford*) $1.25
Flenley, Ralph: Modern Europe and the World (*Dent*) O/P
Gottschalk, L. R.: Era of the French Revolution (*Houghton - Renouf*) $5.35
Guedalla, P.: The Duke: Wellington (*Hodder & Stoughton*) O/P

Lancing, W. F.: Liberators and Heroes of South America (*Page - Ryerson*) $3.75
Mathews, Shailer: The French Revolution (*Longmans*) $2.75
New, Chester W.: Lord Durham, a Biography (*Oxford*) $6.50
Ogg, F. A.: Reign of Andrew Jackson (Chronicles of America) (*Yale - Ryerson*)
Von Tyne, C. H.: Loyalists of the American Revolution (*Constable*)
Wallace, W. S.: The United Empire Loyalists (The Chronicles of Canada) (*Yale - Ryerson*) $1.75
Wallas, Graham: Life of Francis Place (*Allen & Unwin - Nelson*) $2.50
Wheeler, H.: The Story of Nelson (*Harrap - Clarke, Irwin*) $ .75
Wrong, George: Washington and his Comrades in Arms (Chronicles of America) (*Yale - Ryerson*)

FOR TEACHERS AND REFERENCE

Brinton, C.: A Decade of Revolution: 1789-1799 (*Harper - Musson*) O/P
Fish, C. R.: Rise of the Common Man (United States, 1830-1850) (*Macmillan*) $4.00
Harvey, D. C.: The Heart of Howe (*Clarke, Irwin*) $ .75
Mantoux, Paul: The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century (*Cape*) O/P
Martin, Chester: Empire and Commonwealth (*Oxford*) $6.50
Morley, John: Rousseau (*Clifton & Hall*)
— Voltaire (*Appleton - Ryerson*) O/P
Perkins, Dexter: Hands Off: The History of the Monroe Doctrine (*Little, Brown*)
Rose, J. H.: Life of Napoleon (*Bell - Clarke, Irwin*) O/P
Von Tyne, C. H.: Causes of the War of Independence (*Constable*)
Woodward, E. L.: The Age of Reform (*Oxford*) $4.50

HISTORICAL FICTION

Boyd, J.: Drums (*Scribner - Saunders*) O/P (American Revolution)
Dark, Eleanor: Timeless Land (*Collins*) O/P (Early Australia)
Dickens, Charles: Tale of Two Cities (*Oxford*) $ .95 (French Revolution)
Doyle, Conan: Adventures of Gerard (*Murray - Musson*) O/P (Napoleon)
— Uncle Bernac (*Murray - Musson*) O/P (Napoleon)
Eliot, George: Adam Bede (*Harrap - Oxford*) $2.75 (Early nineteenth century England)
Edmonds, W. D.: Drums Along the Mohawk (*Little - McClelland*) $3.25
Forbes, E.: Johnny Tremaine (*Houghton - Allen*) $3.00 (American Revolution)
Fast, H. M.: Citizen Tom Paine (*Duell - Collins*) $3.00 (American and French Revolutions)
French, M.: Boughs Bend Over (*Doubleday - McClelland*) $1.39 (Loyalists)
Goudge, E.: Green Dolphin Street (*Hodder & Stoughton*) $3.00 (Early New Zealand)
Gras, Felix: Reds of the Midi (*Appleton - Century - Ryerson*) O/P (French Revolution)
Harris, C.: One Braver Thing (*Scribner - Saunders*) $3.50 (Loyalists)
Hugo, Victor: Les Miserables (*Dent*) $1.75 (Napoleon)
Masefield, John: Live and Kicking Ned (*Macmillan*) $3.25 (Slave Trade)
Nordhoff, C. B. and Hall, J. N.: Botany Bay (*Little - McClelland*) O/P
Orczy, Baroness: The Scarlet Pimpernel (*Hodder & Stoughton*) $1.49 (French Revolution)
Sabatini, R.: Scaramouche (*McClelland*) $ .60 (French Revolution)
Scott, Sir Walter: Fortunes of Nigel (*Oxford*) O/P
Thane, E.: The Tudor Wench (*Hurst & Blackett - Ryerson*) O/P (Elizabeth)
Tolstoy, Leo: War and Peace (*Oxford*) 3 vols. $ .95 each (Napoleonic Russia)

Weyman, Stanley: Red Cockade (*Murray - Musson*) O/P (French Revolution)
— Chippinge Borough (*Murray - Musson*) O/P (Parliamentary reform)
Young, Stanley: Young Hickory (*Farrar - Oxford*) $2.50 (Young Andrew Jackson)

SINCE 1850

Angell, Sir Norman: Let the People Know (*Macmillan*) $ .79 (Concerning Anglo-American problems)
Beaton, Cecil: The Near East (*Batsford - Copp Clark*) $4.50
Becker, C. L.: Making a Better World (*Hamilton - Musson*) $2.25
Bell, H. C. F.: Woodrow Wilson and the People (*Doubleday - McClelland*) $3.75
British Life and Thought: An Illustrated Survey (*Longmans*, for the British Council) $3.00
Charnwood, Lord: Abraham Lincoln (*Constable*)
Childs, M. W.: Sweden: the Middle Way (*Yale - Ryerson*)
Commager, H. S.: The Story of the Second World War (*Little Brown - McClelland*) $3.75
Crafford, F. S.: Jan Smuts: A Biography (*Doubleday - McClelland*) $4.50
Curie, Eve: Madame Curie (*Blue Ribbon - McClelland*) $1.39
De Kruif, Paul: Microbe Hunters (*Cape*) O/P
Department of National Defence, Ottawa: (1) The Canadians in Britain, 1939-1944. (2) From Pachino to Ortona (The campaign in Sicily and Italy, July-December 1943). (3) From Caen to Falaise (The Normandy campaign, June-August 1944). (*King's Printer, Ottawa*) $ .50 each cloth, $ .25 each paper
Dobbie, Sir Wm.: Grace under Malta (*Drummond*) (Malta 1941-1943)
Eberle, I.: Wide Felds (*Crowell*) $3.00 (The scientific work of J. H. C. Fabre)
Front Line: The Official Story of the Civil Defence of Britain (*Dent*) $1.50
Guedalla, Philip: Mr. Churchill: A Portrait (*Hodder & Stoughton*) $5.00 (O/P
Hall, A. G.: Nansen (*Macmillan*) $3.00
Harlow, Vincent: The British Colonies (Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs) $ .15
Holt, Rackham: George Washington Carver (*Doubleday-McClelland*) $3.75
Horrabin, J. F.: An Atlas of Current Affairs (*Ryerson*) O/P
Johnston, Sir H. H.: The Opening Up of Africa (*H.U.L. - Oxford*) $1.25
Kipling, J. L.: Beast and Man in India (*Macmillan*)
Kirkconnell, Watson: Canada, Europe and Hitler (*Oxford*) $1.50
Lawrence, T. E.: Revolt in the Desert (*Garden City - McClelland*) (The Near East in the War of 1914-1918) O/P
Lee, Jennie: The Great Journey (*Farrar & Rinehart - Oxford*) $3.00 (Early days of the Labour Party in England)
Marshall, G. C.: General Marshall's Report: The Winning of the War in Europe and the Pacific (*Simon & Schuster - Musson*) $1.00 paper, $2.50 boards
Masefield, John: Gallipoli Wanderer (*Heinemann - Macmillan*) O/P
Maurois, André: Disraeli (*Lane - Nelson*) O/P
Millin, S. G.: Rhodes (*Chatto - Oxford*) $2.00
Moraes, F. R. & Stimson, R.: Introduction to India (*Oxford*) $1.00
Morley, J.: The Life of William Ewart Gladstone (*Macmillan*) O/P
Morton, H. V.: Atlantic Meeting (*Dodd, Mead - Saunders*) $3.00 (Churchill's journey to meet Roosevelt in August 1941)
Peck, A. M.: Roundabout South America (*Harper - Musson*) $3.50

Richards, J. M.: An Introduction to Modern Architecture (*Penguin Books*) $ .25
Robertson, Sir C. G.: Bismarck (*Constable*)
Robertson, J. K.: Atomic Artillery and the Atomic Bomb (*Van Nostrand - Associated Publishers*) $3.25
Shiber, Etta: Paris Underground (*Garden City - McClelland*) $1.39
Shirer, W. L.: Berlin Diary (*Dunlop-Ryerson*) $1.89
Siegfried, André: Suez and Panama (*Cape*) O/P
Soward, F. H.: Moulders of National Destinies (*Clarke, Irwin*) $ .65
Steed, H. W.: That Bad Man (*Macmillan*) $1.65 (The Rise of Hitler)
Stettinius, E. R., Jr.: Lend-Lease: Weapon for Victory (*Macmillan*) $4.00
Swift: The Railroad to Freedom (*Harcourt, Brace - McClelland*) $2.50 (Concerning fugitive slaves to Canada)
Trevelyan, G. M.: Garibaldi and the Making of Italy (*Longmans*) (O/P
Trotter, R. G.: Commonwealth; Pattern for Peace? (Canadian Institute of International Affairs) O/P
— The British Empire-Commonwealth (*Holt - Macmillan*) $1.50
Turner, W. J., ed.: The British Commonwealth and Empire (*Collins*) $5.00
Watts, Franklin, ed.: Voices of History: Great Speeches and Papers of the Year 1941 (*"Crown" - Ambassador*) $4.50
Willkie, Wendell: One World (*Simon & Schuster - Musson*) $2.75
Ziemer, Gregor: Education for Death: The Making of the Nazi (*Oxford*) $2.50

FOR TEACHERS AND FOR REFERENCE (Including some sourcebooks)

Bell, H. C. F.: Lord Palmerston (*Longmans*) O/P
Buchan, John: A History of the Great War (1914-1918) 4 vols. (*Nelson*) (O/P
Cooke, W. H. & Stickney, E. P.: Readings in European International Relations since 1879 (*Harper - Musson*) O/P
Coupland, R.: The Indian Problem: Report on the Constitutional Problem in India (*Oxford*) $6.00
Duffett, W. E., Hicks, A. R. & Parkin, G. R.: India Today: The Background of Indian Nationalism (*John Day - Longmans*) $2.00
Gewehr, W. M.: The Rise of Nationalism in the Balkans, 1800-1930 (*Holt - Clarke, Irwin*) $1.50
Haines, C. G. & Hoffman, R. J. S.: Origins and Background of the Second World War (*Oxford*) $5.00
Hoskins, H. L.: European Imperialism in Africa (*Holt - Clarke, Irwin*) O/P
Keith, A. B.: Speeches and Documents on the British Dominions, 1918-1931 (*Oxford*) $ .95
Law, L. E., Knox, F. A., Corry, J. A., Prince, A. E., Curtis, C. A.: Five Political Creeds: A Symposium: The Meaning of Fascism, Communism, Socialism, Conservatism, Liberalism (*Yale - Ryerson*)
McInnis, Edgar: The War: First Year ($2.00), Second Year $2.00), Third Year ($2.00), Fourth Year ($2.50), Fifth Year ($2.50),Sixth Year in preparation (*Oxford*)
Schmitt, B. E.: England and Germany: 1740-1914 (*Saunders*) $1.20 net
— Triple Alliance and Triple Entente (*Holt - Clarke,Irwin*) $1.50
Soward, F. H.: Twenty-Five Troubled Years, 1918-1943 (*Oxford*) $3.00
Treat, P. J.: The Far East (*Harper - Musson*) O/P
Trotter, R. G.: Canadian Federation: Its Origins and Achievement (*Dent*) O/P
Walker, E. A.: Colonies (*Cambridge - Macmillan*) $1.10

FICTION AND POETRY

Bates, H. E.: Fair Stood the Wind for France (*Michael Joseph - Ryerson*) $2.50 ("Underground" in Brittany) O/P

Bottome, Phyllis: London Pride (*Little Brown - McClelland*)$2.50 (London under the Blitz)

Buchan, John: Greenmantle (*Hodder & Stoughton*) $1.25 (British Secret Service)

Coward, Noel: Cavalcade (*Doubleday - McClelland*) $2.25 (A play of English life)

Drinkwater, John: Abraham Lincoln (*Sidgwick & Jackson*)

Fallada, Hans: Little Man, What Now? (*Putnam's - Allen*) $1.05 (Germany before Hitler) O/P

Fast, H. M.: Freedom Road (*Duell - Collins*) $3.00 (The American Negro after the Civil War)

Gibbs, Sir Philip: Cities of Refuge (*Ryerson*) $3.00 (Europe at the time of Germany's economic collapse and the inflation of the mark) O/P

Hémon, Louis: Maria Chapdelaine (*Macmillan*) $ .50

Housman, A. E.: Victoria Regina (*Cape*) $3.50 (A play sequence) O/P

Kipling, Rudyard: Kim (*Macmillan*) $ .60 (India)

Llewellyn, Richard: How Green Was My Valley (*Ryerson*) $1.98 (A Welsh mining community)

MacInnes, Helen: While Still We Live (*Little Brown - McClelland*) $3.00 (The Polish resistance movement)

Nordhoff, C. & Hall, J.: Falcons of France (*Hamilton - Saunders*) (World War I) O/P

Pratt, E. J.: Dunkirk (*Macmillan*) $ .50 (Narrative poem of the great evacuation)

Spring, Howard: Fame is the Spur (*Collins*) $2.75 (The English labour movement) O/P

Steel, F. A.: On the Face of the Waters (*Macmillan*) $2.50 (Indian Mutiny)

Stowe, Harriet Beecher: Uncle Tom's Cabin (*Harrap - Clarke, Irwin*) $ .30 (Slavery in the American South)

Waln, Nora: House of Exile (*Penguin Books*) $ .25 (Description of Chinese life)

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